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SEASONABLE DISCOURSE

AGAINST

TOLERATION.

WITH A

PREFACE,

Wherein the Nature of Persecution in
general, and the unjust Complaints
of the Dissenting Parties concerning
it in particular, are distinctly con-
sidered.

By Wm. Ashton.

L O N D O N,

Printed for Richard Rumbold, in Butcher-hall Lane, near
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q^d if at Ashridge?

THE PREFACE

To the READER.

THough *Controversies* in Religion are (hypothetically) necessary, (for so long as there is either Ignorance or Malice in the hearts of Men, there will be Differences in Opinion, and Animosities amongst them) yet a prudent well-regulated endeavour to moderate and assuage them, is a work truly *Christian* and *Charitable*, however it may be fruitless, and unsuccesfull in the end.

I do indeed heartily pray for it, yet dare not (as yet) promise my self so good a return of these my poor Labours, as my *Brethrens* conviction; *Prejudice* and *Interest* (from which the dearest of Gods *Children* are not wholly exempted) being not so easily remov'd; The utmost that I can now expect, (and which I hope they will have no cause to deny mee) is their favourable *Absolution* from that common, yet unworthy Reflection of a *Temporizing Formalist*; it being my unfeigned *Judgment*, (after a strict impartiall inquiry into the nature of such Impositions) that my *Subscription* to the *Doctrine* and *Discipline* of the *Church of England* is not only warrantable, but necessary.

'Tis not my business at present, to give a particular explication or defence of those *Constitutions*, which my *Dissenting Brethren* (both in *Press* and *Pulpit*) have thought fit to oppose; That task hath been with so much *Learning*
 a (and

(and withall so much *Moderation*) performed (to omit others) by those two worthy Instruments of Gods glory, Bishop *Sanderson*, and Mr. *Hosker*, that I have often (and I think not without just cause) admired, that any man endowed (even) with common Abilities (supposing him of a meek and docile Spirit) should remain unsatisfy'd, when he shall have but seriously perus'd the *Incomparable* writings of those Pious and Learned Persons.

The truth is (be their pretences never so plausible) tis to me very plaine, that many of my *Brethren* both decline and dread *Conviction*; of which (amongst other proofes) this which I now mention is a pregnant Instance.

No sooner had this small *Pamphlet* appear'd in the *World*, but (asis usuall in such cases, we being all desirous of Novelties) it was generally sought after, and perus'd, and (that I may return my *Thanks* for such encouraging *Reception*) not much discommended. However my *Dissenting Brethren* (from whom I have deserv'd other acknowledgements) were not altogether so obliging; some of which (this is no Conjecture but a certain Truth) though they both knew the *Authors* Person, and had other endearments, sufficient to have invited a much greater *Favour*, yet (having barely glanc'd upon the *Title*) very discourteously (not to say rudely) refus'd, even one single perusall of his humble *Petition*.

I must confess (though even contrary to my naturall *Inclination*) I was some little mov'd, to observe such causeless and irrational *Perverseness*. For though there be indeed small Reason, that any man (in this *Scribling Age*) should so little consult either his *Time* or *Purse*, as to think himself oblig'd to the perusall of each impertinent *Pamphlet*; yet that so small a Tract, so inoffensively compos'd, when

when presented by the hand of a *Friend*, should not find a more favourable *Acceptance*, is such an *Vagant-man* like thing, that had I the leisure or designe to play the *Satyr*ist, it were no hard task methinks to explode so disingenuous an instance.

But of this enough, if not (as some may judge) too much: Which yet is mention'd with this *Designe*, even to assure my *Reader*; That be his private *Opinion* what it will, (if he please to hazard some small portion of Time in the perusal of the following *Pamphlet*) he shall find nothing to offend him, but the *Evidence* of Truth, and downe-right *Conviction*.

I have one thing more to add, and that is an *Objection*; which being both plausible and common, I shall first *Propose*, (& that in the Person of some *Private* weak Christian) Secondly *Resolve* with as much clearness as I am able.

The *Objection* is this.

There are indeed hot *Disputes* about these *Ceremonies*, and other *Impositions* in the Service of God: The *Tongues* and *Pens* of Learned men have for a long time been employed about them; the Arguments *pro* and *con*, both to defend and disprove them, are of great weight, and seemingly rational: They are indeed both so plausible, that a Person of my rank and *Quality* (who not only wants the advantage of *Education*, but is also diverted from such inquiries by a particular *profession* which he is obliged to attend) may very well be perplexed how to behave himself: yet for my own part, I am much inclin'd to think; That these *Ceremonies* are very dangerous and unlawfull Things: and that because I observe so many *Learned* and *Godly* Divines, who rather than they will defile themselves with such *Pollutions*, have not only, suffered joyfully the spoiling of their goods,

but also *Bonds* and *Imprisonments*, *Banishments*, and a Thousand other *Indignities*, to which a *persecuted* people is usually exposed; which certainly such *prudent* Persons would never have done for a few *Ceremonies* (the cause of all this mischief) were they such *innocent* Things, as the *Prelats*, and their Agents have endeavoured to persuade us.

This is the Objection; To which I Answer as followeth.

That which is said in the first Place of their *Learning* and *piety*, is not much to the purpose,

For *First*, such pretences (being very advantageous to any Cause whatsoever) are far more common then true. The (a) *Vulgar* sort (who are chiefly concerned in the Objection) are no competent Judges in these Cases, but much less in the former then the latter. But Secondly, granting them to be as *Learned* and *pious*, as their admiring *Profelytes* can fancy, or my *Charity* could wish them; yet we must remember, that the most *Learned* and *pious* are but *Men*, and therefore do but *know* in part, and are *sanctified* in part; and (as the learned (b) Bp. *Sanderson* expresseth it) *By the power of Godliness in their Hearts are no more secured from the possibility of falling into Error through Ignorance, then from the possibility of falling into Sin through Infirmary*; Which should therefore prompt us, (as the safest course) to guide our *Actions*, not by *Example*, which (through different Circumstances) is various, and uncertain, but by *Precept* which is sure and fixt, not to have *meis Persons* in such *Admiration*, as to embrace their *Opinions* and *practises* against the *Light of Scripture*, and *Right Reason*.

But *Thirdly*, if *Learning* and *Piety* must pass for *Arguments*

a) Sic est
vulgus; ex
veritate
paucas
opiniones
multa esti-
mat. Cic.
Orat. 1.
b) Pref. be-
fore Sermon.
Sec. 6.

ments (which yet they will not, it being no good Consequence, such a *Learned* and *Pious* Man, or such a learned and pious *Company* of Men holds this *Opinion*, therefore 'tis true yet) I say if these must be urg'd for *Logick* (though Comparisons are harsh, and for the most part odious) I think it might easily appear (without disparagement be it spoken) That there are as *Honest*, *Religious*, *Zealous* good men, that have willingly and chearfully submitted to the *Church of England*, as the best of them all that have oppos'd the same.

Our *Pious-Fore-fathers* (to whom under God, we owe the *purity* of our *Religion*, and some of which embrac'd a *Stake*) had more moderate apprehensions, then the present Generation.

For, when the *Tyranny* of the *Church of Rome* had forc'd them to a *Separation* (and that in Obedience to God, who commands us neither to believe *Lies*, nor to commit *Sin*, neither of which they could avoid by continuing in *Communion* with her) though they left many of her *Ceremonies* (the number of them being great and burthenesome) yet they thought fit to retain some others of them, and that for *Order* and *Decency* in the Service of God.

If it be replyed (as usually it is) That the *Reformation* (being carried on by those that were ἑμιονταδὲς ἑμῶν, made of the same *Clay*, and subject to the like *passions* with others) was at best but small and *imperfect*, it being beyond the *wit* and *power* of Man, either to foresee, or remove all Inconveniencies on a sudden, and therefore, that it was the Duty of *After-Ages*, to perfect and complete what they had so happily begun, by removing this *Rubbish* out of the House of God; To this I Answer,

That the *Topick* of Reformation, is too large for a short
preface,

Preface, and beyond my *designe*; onely this by the *by*; I wish that Protestants (of whatsoever Perswasion) would be more sparing in their *Reflections* upon our first *Reformers*; for besides the advantage that is hereby given to the *Romish* Party, we ought to consider, That abuses are easier complain'd of, then redress'd; and possibly, had the men of this *Age* been in their stead, and under the same *Circumstances*, I do much question (if we may take an estimate by their late transactions) whether they would have brought the work to so good an Issue, as through Gods Blessing they then did. But no more of this.

'Tis sufficient for my present purpose; That since the cause of their *Separation* from *Rome*, was to avoid her Pollutions, 'tis evident; That these *Ceremonies* which they thought fit to retaine, were (in their Judgment) no part of them, or any other way unlawful; the which, if my dissenting *Brethren* will but grant, (not to talke now off their *inexpedience*, of which, neither they nor I must be Judges) as it is a fair step to end our *Differences*, so it hence avoidably follows, That if some pious men have refus'd the *Ceremonies*, others of as great piety have *Conform'd* to them; if some *Learned* have disputed, others as *Learned* have defended, which may for ever Silence that Branch of the Objection, *viz.* The *Learning* and *Piety* of their Parties.

Nor is there much more *weight* in that other part of the Objection, (drawn from their *persecutions* and *sufferings*) which comes now to be considered.

A Pretence indeed very *plausible* and *popular*; for besides its subtle Insinuations upon a natural score, (we being all obliged by that common bond of Humanity, to compassionate those that are in any misery and trouble, witness those usual resentments even for a Thief upon the Gallows)

lows) it hath this farther advantage; That wherever in Scripture the word *Persecution* is mentioned, and that either with some *Promise* annex'd for the support of Gods people (who otherwise might despond under such gloomy dispensations) or of some Judgment denounced, to restrain the fury of their Persecutors: I say, wheresoever such *passages* occur (as they do frequently in holy *Writ*) they have learned the Art (by imposing upon a credulous *Vulgar*) to make the World believe, that they are those persecuted *Saints*, for whom those promises are recorded, and that all such persons as are any way employed (though in Obedience to Authority) to suppress them, are Persecuting wretches, on whom, sooner or later, all those *Judgments* threatned shall certainly be *inflicted*.

I shall not in the least offend them with any harsh *Invectives* (such *Reflections* (though some ease indeed to a burthen'd mind) being very little to the *Substance* of a Cause) but shall only beg their *Patience* and *Charity*, whilst I endeavour to undeceive them, by assuring them in plaine *English* (what, without *Repentance*, they will one day find true) *That they are not Persecuted as Saints, but punished as Malefactors.*

And this I shall (through Gods assistance) undenyably prove in this Method.

1. By fixing the *Notion*, in laying down a clear and distinct *definition* of *Persecution*.

2. By considering, how far those present *Sufferings* to which our Nonconformists are obnoxious, do agree with it, or differ from it.

Persecution for Religion (for of such onely I now treat) may not unfitly be thus described.

Tis an eager violent inflicting, of outward temporal Evils, for the exercise of true Religion.

(c) i. e. continue, seu continuato mori sequor. inimico affectu insequor. continuo, assidue quaro Mart. Lex. Philolog.

(d) i. e. καὶ λαμβάνειν φύσιν, ἢ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, ὡς καὶ λέγειν, ὡς φύσιν καὶ ὡς φύσιν, Hefychius.

I call it *eager violent inflicting* so the Lat. *e Persequor*; and the Gr. *διώκω* do fully denote; they both signifie so to follow, as a Hunter doth his Prey, who pursues it till he takes it.

But because these terms *eager* and *violent*, do only agree to one sort of *Persecution*, viz. That which is *furiosus* and *rageing*, (it being sometimes more mild and moderate) and since definitions do express the *nature*, but not the *degree* of the thing defined (as when we define *Calor*, we take no notice of it in *summo*) I shall therefore omit these words *eager* and *violent*, and then the definition (I suppose unquestionably) stands thus,

Persecution is an inflicting of outward temporal Evils, for the exercise of true Religion.

Outward temporal Evils either upon the *Body*, as Banishment, Imprisonment, Tortures, Death; or upon the *Estate*, as Pecuniary Mulcts, confiscation of Goods; or upon *Reputation* and *good Name*, as Slandering, Revilings, Reproachful Speeches.

For the exercise of true Religion which is the *Ratio formalis*, the Constitutive difference, whereby *Persecution* is distinguished from all other violences whatsoever. For let the greatest *Reproaches* and *Indignities*, usher in the most exquisite *Tortures*, and those be concluded by a *Death* as cruel, as the utmost Malice on Earth, or Fury in Hell can contrive; yet unless these *Tortures* be *eo nomine* inflicted, for the sake and cause of *Religion*, we may call them merciless, inhumane, unnatural Cruelties, (or any such like name as can most fitly express them) but not *Persecution*.

By *Religion*, (that I may yet more fully explaine the *Definition*) I mean the *Worship* of God; by *true Religion*, the

the worshipping of him according to his Will ; the which Will (though heretofore variously delivered, and in different Dispensations, yet those extraordinary ways of Conveyance being now ceased) it hath pleased the Goodness and Wisdom of God to deliver in Writing (by the Ministry of the Prophets and Apostles) in those *Books* which (by way of eminency) we call the *Scripture*. So that whatever *Worship* is not according to those *holy Oracles*, is not true and acceptable, but false and vain : *In vain do ye Worship me*, &c. It being an undoubted Truth ; That God hath as much right to appoint the way of his own Worship, as to be Worshipp'd.

There are moreover, we know, two parts of Religion ; *Credenda*, *Agenda*, *Truths* to be believed, and *Duties* to be performed, in order to *Salvation* ; and in both these, the Scripture is our Rule and Direction.

He therefore that is *Punished*, either for *believing* those *Truths*, or for *doing* those *Duties*, the belief and performance of which *holy Scripture* requireth of him ; or he that is *punished*, for *not believing* those things as *Truths*, which are but falsities and *lies*, or for *not doing* those things as *Duties*, which are sinful and *unlawful*, he, I say, who is punished upon these accounts, is properly *Persecuted*.

The *Case* then about *Persecution*, as it respects the *Non-conformists*, is briefly this :

If those *Instances*, for which they are punished, be no way required of them in *holy Scripture*, either for belief, or practise ; and if it shall appear, upon inquiry, that the *Church of England* requires nothing of them, that is *in se* Erroneous, or *in facto* Impious ; if she neither enjoynes them to believe *Lies*, nor to commit any *Sin*, if nor so, nor so, let the world then judge where the fault lies ; and
 b who

who they are, that (without Repentance) must one day Answer (which I fear is now little thought on) for all those Separations and Divisions in the Church; all those Distractions, Confusions, Wars, Murthers, Rapines, &c. (the natural consequents of the former) in the State, which these poor miserable divided Kingdomes have so sadly experienc'd.

'Twill be replied, (and I find it no unusual Plea) That Preaching and Praying are necessary Duties, But they are punished for Preaching and Praying, Therefore they are punished for performance of religious Duties, and consequently (according to the now mentioned definition) are Persecuted.

e Prop. for They tell us, e There are certain inoffensive persons, and
Saf. of King they (meaning their Rulers) have really no more against them,
and Kingd. only that they meet, and preach, and pray together. Innocent
P. 10. folks, who are dragged to Prison, for doing nothing in earnest,
but endeavouring to save their Souls.

That I may, if possible, convince my Brethren, of the weakness and vanity of this plausible Argument, I'll give them my Answer (I hope Methodically and clearly) in these following Conclusions.

Concl: 1.

By Preaching and Praying, (as they are the Subject of our present Disquisition) is meant the performance of them in publick, not in private; this latter being libera observatio, since every man (of what perswasion soever) may not only Pray with his own family, when and how he pleaseth, but also Preach, or Instruēt them (and that without fear of punishment) in what manner he thinks fit.

Concl: 2.

In Preaching and Praying there is considerable, Substantia & Circumstantia, Res & Modus, the substance of the Duty,

Duty; or the thing to be perform'd, and the circumstances, or manner of its performance.

Preaching and Praying, quoad Substantiam, are necessary, necessitate Precepti & Medii, i. e. God hath Commanded, and the condition of the Church (whilst Militant & in viâ) doth require, that these Duties be attended.

Nor is the *Substance* only, but also the *Circumstances* of these Duties in *Thesi*, and in the general necessary, i. e. when these Duties are considered in *actu exercitio*, whenever they are put into practice, we must necessarily make use of *Circumstances*, some or other.

Concl: 3.

These Circumstances (however in Thesi necessary) in Hypothesi and in Particular, are not determined in Scripture; (which, I do not mean as to their Lawfulness, but as to their being duties) if they be, there must then be produc'd some clear and distinct Precept (perpetually obligatory to the Church) requiring our observance of such or such Circumstances; for this, and nothing else, (though other things are pretended) can constitute a Religious Duty. Thus, though Prayer be a Duty, yet whether it be a Set Form, or Extemporary? The Minister, whether habited in a Surplice, or without? His Gesture, whether kneeling, or standing? The Place, whether in a Deske, or at the Communion Table, or at both? So for Preaching, whether in a Gown, a long Cloak or a short? How many Sermons in one day, whether three, or two, or but one; I say, none of these, or such like, are determined in Scripture to be our Duties; those who assert they are, must produce the Command making them to be such; for Duty and Command, have a necessary Respect and Relation to one another.

Concl: 4.

These Circumstances (though still free and indifferent quoad naturam, being neither commanded nor forbidden yet) must not be left undetermined quoad usum; i. e. Private persons must not be left at liberty, to do what they think fit in Circumstantials, as if an agreement in Substantials only were sufficient; so as if there be but Preaching and Praying; if these Duties be but performed, one man may use a Set Form, another may pray Extempore; this Minister may wear the Surplice, whilst his Neighbour rejects it as Popish and Antichristian. Does not any man (who hath not enslaved his Reason, to support a Faction) very easily observe, that the bare mention of this Fancy (such I am forc'd to call it) is its own Confutation? was it ever so much as thought on, but in the heat of a Dispute? Did ever any Constituted Church in the world allow such Liberty? Are not my Brethren themselves convinc'd of the contrary? If they deny it, I could very easily refresh their Memories in so obvious a Theam; I could turn them to their Directory, and their Ordinances to enforce it, &c. but I spare them. In short,

g Mr. New-comes Serm. at Pauls, Feb. 8. 1646. pag. 18.

g There is scarce any difference so small, and inconsiderable, but the divulging, and propagating of it, may prove dangerous and pernicious, and in the event intollerable. Therefore to allow private persons the Liberty, to order these Circumstances in the publick Worship (pro modulo Conscientia) as their own Conscience (perhaps humour or interest) shall Dictate, is the ready way to destroy all Order and Government in the world. And this I hope is sufficiently made plain (to any man that will but read and consider) in the following Collections.

Well then, to rise yet a little higher.

Since

Since it is necessary that there must be some *Circumstances* made use of in the exercise of these Duties, *Preaching* and *Praying*, (it being impossible to perform any Action (and therefore Religious Action) without them) and since Scripture hath *determined* nothing, either by requiring some as *necessary*, or forbidding others as *unlawful*: and since to leave them undetermin'd (for private Persons to do what seems good in their own eyes) is apparently destructive both to *Church* and *State*; what can more naturally follow then this. That they must be Determined by the Supream Magistrate, who by the Advice of his Ecclesiastical Council, his *Convocation*, (as in Seculars by his *Parliament*) may appoint the performance of these, and other Religious Duties in such a *manner*, as is most agreeable to that Apostolical Canon: *Let all things be done decently and in order*. I proceed therefore to my fifth Conclusion, which is this,

Concl: 5.

The Supream Magistrate must determine what Circumstances shall be used in the Worship and Service of God. The which Conclusion, I shall rather suppose then prove; not that I think it of less truth or certainty then the rest, but because our Divines, not only *Episcopal*, but also the *dissenting Parties* (with whom I am now treating) have perform'd it with so much plainness and satisfaction to my hand.

And though I might collect whole *Volumes* from their Sermons, and other Treatises, to confirme this Truth, yet to relieve my self from the drudgery of transcribing, (which is no pleasing task) and to give ease to my Reader, I shall only refer him to some Places in the following *Collections*, which if he please to turn to, and read (as they are cited

in

(h) See the
Pages fol-
lowing, viz.

p. 18. 19. 20.
21. 28. 29.
35. 36. 37.
38. 39. 50.

in the (h) Margin) before he goes any farther, he will do me great right, and himself no displeasure.

From which Places it evidently appears, *That the Magistrate is both Custos and Vindex utriusq; Tabulae. That the Examples of the Kings of Israel and Judah, may sufficiently warrant and encourage all Religious Magistrates, to reform and settle Religion in one Uniform way, and take care that all under their Government, should all serve the Lord with one shoulder, this being not a Tyranny over men, but the Privilege of the Gospel. That they must take a course, that Christians may live a quiet and Peaceable life in Godliness and honesty, not in Strife and Contention; which how they shall be able to perform, if every man (concerning these Circumstances) may hold what he please, and Publish and Preach what he holds, I am not able to imagine. These and many the like Passages (some of which I have now given you in their own words) you will find in the forecited places; from whence I think it is plain, (i) That where the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church doth not, or cannot prevail, the Magistrate must interpose his Coercive Power, for Restraint or Remedy. Which leads me to the sixth Concl.*

(i) ut supra
pag. 20.

Concl. 6.

There must be Eccl: Laws, Canons, or Constitutions made, for the due ordering of these Circumstances.

Much I grant hath been objected by my dissenting Bre: against these *Constitutions*, both in *Thesi* (against all Eccl: Laws in generall) and in *Hypothesi* (against these of our own Church in particular.)

As to the first (for the latter is beyond my designe) I think it would puzzle the most judicious *Dissenter*, to give a solid satisfactory Account, why the *Supream Power* may make Laws to determine *Indifferent Circumstances* in
Temporals,

Temporalls, and not in *Spirituals*; they being both liable (in my apprehension) to the same *Difficulties* and *Inconveniences*, and if the latter be exploded, the former (supposing they are faithfull to their Principles) will very hardly be defended.

Concl: 7.

These Eccl: Laws when rightly made and constituted, are obligatory, and must be obey'd. The Reason is, Because Obedience to Lawfull Authority *inlicitis & honestis*, is a duty, which God in his holy Word requireth of us. Now that is lawfull, and consequently the *debita materia* of any humane Constitution (Ecclesiastical or Civil) which is not contrary to any former obligation. Unless therefore the matter of these Constitutions, or the thing which they require us to perform, can be evinc'd (by good Logical Deduction) to be contrary to Gods will Revealed in Scripture, there remains nothing but *Obedience*, not onely *Passive*, chearfully and quietly (without murmurings and revilings) submitting to the *Punishment*; but also *Active*, by a ready performance of the thing commanded; though possibly it might be thought very inconvenient, as being contrary to *Education*, *Custome*, *Interest & Advantage in the World*, and the like. And therefore,

Concl: 8.

We being not (even the best of us all) over-ready in this great Duty of Obedience, There are Penalties annexed to these Eccl: Const. (as well as to other Laws) to frighten us into our Duty. Such is the corruption and stubbornness of our natures, and so little are we affected with the Obligations of Conscience, that it is morally impossible for the most wholesome Laws to obtain their *End*, without the Addition of Civil *Sanctions* to enforce them. For, if the Laws
of

of God, which are holy, just and good, and every way perfect, (they being the contrivance of infinite *Wisdom* and *Goodness*) if these are contemned and neglected, and (and as sad experience proves, it) dayly cast behind our backs, when the observance of them is inconsistent with some *Brutish Pleasure*; no wonder if the *Laws of Men*, (who not onely (many times) want *Wisdom* to contrive, but also *Goodness* to designe what is most profitable for their People) I say, no wonder if these be rather quarrel'd with and disputed, then submitted to and obey'd.

As therefore the infinite *Majesty* of Heaven, hath enforced the observance of his Commands, by a suitable proposal of Rewards and Punishments; so it is the Duty of Inferior *Legislators*, to be a *Punishment* to evil doers, and a *Praise* to them that do well. Therefore,

Concl: 9.

The Supreme Magistrate, in inflicting these Penalties; i. e. in punishing the Offenders against his Constitutions, doth execute Justice, and perform his Duty.

The end and design of Government, is *Salus Publica*, it is to take care, *ne quid detrimenti capiat Communitas*, or in the Apostles Phrase, *That we may live a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.* This is the End.

And since no *End* can be attain'd, but by a due and effectual Application of proper *Means*, we cannot but in Reason grant, that the Magistrate may employ such *Medium's* as are most conducive to his desired *End*. Amongst which, *this* certainly is not the least considerable, (and without which, all Government is but precarious) viz. *A removal of whatsoever is hurtful and destructive to his Society.*

Now since the *Publick allowance*, of different Opinions,
and

and Practices about Circumstantials in Religion (particularly about Preaching and Praying) doth naturally improve into contentious *Disputes*, and those *Disputes* (if not restrained) break out into *Civill Wars*; for k Men will at last take up *Swords and Spears* instead of *Pens*; and defend by *Armes* what they cannot do by *Arguments*. Since things are thus, Tis at least Prudence (if not Duty) in the Supream Power, to remove the Occasion of this Ruine, by enjoyn- ing the Publick Practice of these Duties in one *Vniforme* way; That all his Subjects may speake the same thing; and that there be no *Divisions* amongst them, perfectly joyned together in the same mind, and in the same judgement.

k Mr. New-
comens Ser.
before Parl.
Sep. 12. 1644.
pag. 36.

If therefore upon inquiry it do appeare, That the Ma- gistrate hath Power to make *Constitutions*, for the better ordering of those *Circumstances*, about which Scripture hath determind nothing, whether wee must use or not use them; and if *Offenders* against these *Constitutions* are justly punishable, it undenyably follows; that in punishing such Violaters of his *Laws*, the Magistrate doth not *Persecute*, but execute Justice, and that those Persons who are thus reflected upon, are not *Persecuted* as *Saints*, but Punishd as Malefactors. The very Case of our Nonconformists here in England.

The Summary of these *Conclusions* (that my Reader may the better apprehend them to be both *Consequent* and *Evi- dent*) is this.

Preaching and Praying are necessary Duties, Which cannot be performd without *Circumstances*, These are not determind in Scripture, Nor must be left undetermind, Therefore by the Supream Magistrate, Who to effect this makes *Laws and Con- stitutions*, These have *Penalties* annexd to be inflicted on the *Disobedient*, The infliction of these *Penalties* is the execution

of Justice, and the Magistrates Duty, But no Persecution, Therefore those Persons that suffer these Penalties are not injuriously Persecuted but justly Punish'd.

Quod erat Demonstrandum.

I cannot at all doubt, but the *weakness* of my Brethrens Argument (to any unprejudic'd Reader) begins now to appear. However, I will repeat their Syllogisme once more, and then let the World judge who is in the Right.

*Preaching and Praying are necessary Duties,
But N. C. are punish'd for Preaching and Praying,
Therefore They are Punish'd for necessary Duties,
and consequently are Persecuted.*

I Answer, first, by distinguishing the Major.

Preaching and Praying *quoad Substantiam*, are necessary Duties, *i. e.* Its necessary that these Duties be perform'd. *Quoad Circumstantias*, they are not necessary, *i. e.* though these Duties be perform'd, yet it is not necessary to perform them in *such or such a manner*. Thus, though Prayer be necessary, yet that it should be *Extemporary*, or without a *Form*, is not necessary, or that the Minister should be without a *Surplice*, is not necessary.

So for *Preaching*, though it be a Duty, yet to *preach* or *hear* a Sermon in a *Conventicle* of two or three Thousand, or to expose my self to *Sufferings*, and perhaps, a long Imprisonment, to the neglect of my *Profession*, and thence the ruine of my Family, for which I am bound to provide; I say, to throw my self upon all these Inconveniencies, only to hear a Sermon from *A. B. or C. D.* when I may safely hear a much better from an Orthodox Minister, is so far from being necessary, that it may justly be said, *They both required these things at your hands.* That

Secondly,

Secondly, I Answer, by denying the *Minor*, which is utterly false and untrue. They are not punished for *Preaching* and *Praying* (they being punishable for their neglect) but they are punished for not observing those *Circumstances* about *Preaching* and *Praying*, which *Authority* requireth of them; or, they are punished for not performing these *Duties* in such a manner as their *Governours* require; or more plainly yet, they are punished for not observing, and submitting to those *Constitutions*, which their *Governours* have *Established*, for the better ordering of these *Duties*. The *Obligation* of which *Constitutions* (because they are much oppos'd) I'll endeavour to *confirm* by this one *Consideration*. *Bonum non oritur nisi ex integrâ Causâ*, There must be a concurrence of all requisite *Conditions* to make a thing good. Now the *Conditions* required to the *Validity* of a *Law*, are not unduely exprest by the four *Causes*; *Efficient*, *Material*, *Formal*, *Final*; and, *That Law* which is not *Defective* in any one of these, is *Valid* and *Obligatory*, But such are the *Constitutions* of the *Church of England*. Therefore. &c.

1. *Respectu Causæ Efficientis*, there is sufficient *Authority* and *Legislative Power*. 2. *Respectu Materiae*, the things enjoyn'd are not unlawful, as being contrary to any *Law*, any former *Obligation*. 3. *Respectu Formæ*, there is sufficient *Promulgation*. 4. *Respectu Finis*, *Publick Peace* and *Safety*, (by restraining *Disorders*, *Tumults*, *Contentions*, which might arise from *Difformity* in *Worship*) is the very *Reason* and *End* of their being exacted.

Object. But is not *Conscience* violated, and *Christian-liberty* infringed by these *Ecclesiastical Constitutions*, since they determine us precisely *ad unum* in the use of *Indifferent things*, which *God* and *Christ* have left free *ad utrumlibet*?

Ans. I Answer, (referring my Reader for farther Satisfaction to Bishop *Sanderfons* seventh Sermon ad Pop. pag. 384.) That there is no *Subject* of *England* (whatever is pretended to the contrary) but hath the *Liberty* of his *Conscience*; or, (to speak more intelligibly) may worship God according to his *Conscience*, *i. e.* in such a way and manner as his *Conscience* (his judging Faculty) judgeth most acceptable; provided always, that he keep his opinions to himself, or to his *Family*, and make them a Rule only for his own private *Practice*: But if such a man will go publish his *Opinions*, and entangle the *Consciences* of others, and seek to draw Disciples after him, and make a Party, and cause *Divisions* and *Dissensions* amongst his Majesties Subjects, and trouble the *Publick*, he is to be restrain'd, he is not to be tolerated.

Object. *I Will you allow the Magistrate to Tyranize over*

1 Mr. Calamys
Ser. before the mens Consciences?

Lords. Dec.

25.

1644.

pag. 38.

Ans. 'By no means; But I believe it is the Duty of Magistrates to keep men from infecting their Subjects with Soul-destroying Errours. If thou hast an Heretical Opinion, have it to thy self, and the Magistrate will not, nay, cannot meddle with thy private Conscience. But if thou labourest to infect others, with thy Grace-destroying Opinions, I doubt not but the Magistrate is bound to keep thee from spreading thy Infection to the undoing of the Souls of his Subjects. If he may lawfully shut up a man that hath the Plague upon his body, that he may not Infect others; why not a man that hath the Plague of Heresie upon his Soul, that so he may not destroy the Souls of Thousands? Shall a Master in a Family have power to put away a Servant that is tainted with a grosse Opinion, and yet not be called a Tyrant over

‘over that Servants Conscience? And shall not the chief
 ‘Magistrate of a Kingdome have Power to put out of his
 ‘Kingdome (at least to shut up from doing hurt) one that
 ‘is his Subject, and polluted with Blasphemous, Hereti-
 ‘cal, Idololatrall Opinions? Is not the Kingdom the
 ‘Magistrates House and Family?

‘These are the means that are to be used to cure the
 ‘distractions of *England*. The Lord give us grace to put
 ‘them in practice.

But this and the other party will reply, That *they* are
 neither *Heretical* nor *Turbulent*; and therefore what is all
 this discourse to *them*.

I Answer, No man must be Judge in his own Cause;
 every man therefore is to be supposed such, that (when
 his Place requires it) refuseeth (by publick Oaths, *Sub-*
scriptions, and *Declarations*) to give the Magistrate assu-
 rance, that he is *Orthodox* and *Peaceable*.

m ‘Possibly they will all say, They are of the same
 ‘Opinion with the Reformed Churches in Fundamentals,
 ‘as well as we, and their differences are but in *minutio-*
 ‘*ribus*. Now supposing this to be true (as it may be in
 ‘some of them) why do they then transgress the Apo-
 ‘stles Rule? why do they not if it be in matters of lesser
 ‘moment wherein they differ from us, why do not they
 ‘keep their Opinions private, and have their Faith unto
 ‘themselves before God? why do they upon so small
 ‘Differences (if the Differences be so small) withdraw
 ‘from Communion with us, and the rest of the Chur-
 ‘ches, and gather themselves into distinct and separate
 ‘Churches?

n ‘Had all that Profess the Gospol in *England*, made *n* *vi* *supra*
 ‘Conscience to be of the same mind, and the same Judg-*p. 21.*
 ‘ment

m Mr. New-
 comen: *Serm.*
 at Pauls Feb.
 8. 1646. p. 40.

ment with their Brethren, and the rest of the Churches
 of Christ, as far as possibly; and where they cannot,
 where there is a necessity of differing, had they made
 Conscience to keep their Differences from appearing in
 Publick; to have their private Opinions and Faith to
 themselves, and not intangle the weak with their doubt-
 ful Disputations; forbearing to judge or despise those
 that are not of their Opinion, loving them still as Bre-
 thren, not censuring them as Prophane, Antichristian,
 Fighters against God, men that will wilfully shut their
 eyes against the Light; had these things (I say) been
 attended to on all hands, our Breaches had never been
 so great as now they are, nor should the lovers of Truth
 and Peace have had so much cause to lament them.

o Mr. Baxter's
*Cure of Church
 divisions,*
 pag. 254.

But, o O the deceitfulness of the heart of man! Little
 do many real Separists, who cry out against the spirit
 of Persecution, suspect that the same spirit is in them!
 whence is Persecution, but from thinking ill of others,
 and abhorring them, or not loving them. And do not
 you do so by those whom you causelessly separate from?
 p Who are they that brand their Brethren with the Ti-
 tle Proud, Time-servers, Prelatical, Tyrannical, Antichri-
 stian? And what is this less then Persecution?

p Mr. Newco-
 men ut supra
 p. 40.

q Rom. 2.1.

q Therefore thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever
 thou art that judgest: for in that thou judgest another,
 thou condemnest thy self, for thou that judgest dost the
 same things. r And why beholdest thou the Mote that
 is in thy Brothers eye, but considerest not the Beam that
 is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy Bro-
 ther, let me pull out the Mote out of thine eye; and
 behold, a Beam is in thine own eye? Thou Hypocrite,
 first cast out the Beam out of thine own eye, and then
 shalt

r Matth. 7.
 3. 4. 5.

' shalt thou see clearly to cast out the Moat out of thy
' Brothers eye.

I have a fair occasion (could I allow my self the liberty of its improvement) to return my Brethrens Argument upon their own heads, by assuring them (and I beseech God to give them grace to consider and bewaile it) that the *Persecution* (so much complained of) lyes at their own Doors, they being not innocent *Sufferers*, but injurious *Aggressors*.

These I know are very harsh and unpleasing words; but the Truth of them will appear, when we shall have remembered, that there are more *sorts* of *Persecution* then one, of which St. *Augustine* thus informes. *Gravius persequitur filius Patrem male vivendo, quam Pater filium castigando. Et gravius ancilla Saram persecuta est per iniquam Superbiam, quam eam Sara per debitam Disciplinam. Et gravius Dominum persequebantur propter quos dictum est, zelus domus tue comedit me, quam eos ipse cum eorum mensis evertit, & eos flagello de templo expulit.* There is you see *Persecution* of the *Tongue*, and of an *irregular Life*, as well as of the *Hand*; and if my Brethren are not at present guilty of this latter (whether through restraint, or their own good nature I shall not determine) I am sure the former is their constant Practice.

(Lib. de U.
nit. Eccles.
contr. Pevil:
Epist. cap. 17.

For, (to insist only upon that) 'tis even amazing to mention, what bitter *Taunts*, rude *Sarcasmes*, unmannerly *Jeers*, fabulous *Stories*, scandalous *Reproaches*, are their daily exercise, whereby they vex the *Righteous Souls*, weaken the *Hands*, discourage the *Endeavours*, of their honest *Orthodox Conforming Brethren*, Are not all *Places*, all *Companies*, all *Occasions* sufficient witnesses of this Truth?

Really 'tis very sad, (and to be lamented with *Tear*.)

That

That the great work of Religion, the Preaching of the Gospel, and the Salvation of Souls, should be thus obstructed by these unfortunate practises.

But I hope no faithfull Son of the Church will be discouraged at these Things, or in the least neglect his Duty, though all the World should be offended at him. The Rule is fixt. *We must obey God rather than Man.* 'Tis our Dear Lords case, in whom there was no Sin, neither was Guile found in his mouth, and yet he was accus'd for a Wine bibber, a Glutton, and that he had a Devill. *The Disciple is not above his Master, nor the Servant above his Lord. It is enough for the Disciple that he be as his Master, and the Servant as his Lord: if they have call'd the Master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his Household? Fear them not therefore: Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the Soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both Soul and Body in Hell.*

I cannot now stay to expostulate with my Brethren, otherwise I should tell them, there is such a thing as Scandal; and that Christ hath little ones, the meanest of whom, if they offend (hinder from their Duty, and stop them in their way to Heaven, by speaking Evil of the Ways of God) it were better a Millstone were hanged about their necks, and they cast into the midst of the Sea.

But I shall only desire them to consider that of Saint James; *If any man among you seem to be Religious, and bridleth not his Tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this mans Religion is vain.*

And yet how contrary is the practise of no small number of the Religious? In all Companies, how forward are they to talke of the sins of Princes and Parliaments? of Courtiers, of Nobility and Gentry, especially

t Math. 10.
24. &c.

v James 1.
26.

w Mr. Baxter
ut supra p.
245.

cially of Ministers? And not onely of the scandalous, that are guilty indeed, but of the Innocent, that are not of their way, whose faults they rather make than find.

x Repent ad
justicia.

I have done; and must intreat the Readers *Charity*, in pardoning those excesses of my *Pen*, which (whilst I was intent upon the *matter*) may possibly have fall'n from mee. God he knows it, (and tis my comfort when the *world* condemnes mee) I have no designe to exasperate any man but to reforme him. If this do not satisfy (for some men are very hard to please) take this farther *Apology* in the words of that Reverend Person now mention'd, whose *Piety* and *Moderation* I wish his Brethren would imitate.

1. Woe to the Land and People that can multiply
 Sin and cannot Repent; And woe to them that pretend
 Repentance, and love to be flatter'd in their Sin, and
 cannot endure to be admonish'd, but take all the discov-
 ers of their Sin to be injurious reproach. Among
 the Prophane wee take this to bee a deadly sign of Im-
 penitency. And is it so bad in them, and good in us?
 It is part of my Office to cry with holy Bradford RE-
 PENT O ENGLAND; and to say after Christ
 (Except ye Repent, ye shall all likewise Perish,) And
 can I call men to Repent, when I must not dare to tell
 them of what? nor to mention the Sin which is most
 to be repented of? I use all this Preface because I know
 that Guilt and Impenitency are touchy, and tender,
 and galled, and querulous, and such will bestow the
 time in backbiting their Monitor, which they should
 bestow in lamenting their sin. But shall I therefore for-
 bear, and betray their Souls, and betray the Land
 d through

Mr. Baxter
at supra.
p. 251. & 253.

through cowardly Silence? Must I shew that I hate Professours by not admonishing them, (Lev. 19. 17.) when I must shew that I love the looser sort by my sharp reproofs? Must I not fear them that can kill the Body? and must I fear to displease a professed Christian, calling him to repentance in a time of Judgements?

Read on now with these *Memento's* in your eye: And if after so plain a *Premonition*, you will venture to charge mee with that which I disclaime, do it at your own perill. I stand or fall to the Judgement of God, and look for a better reward then the *Hypocrites*, which is, To have the good Opinion of men, be they Professours of Piety, or Profane. And with me by Gods grace, it shall hereafter be accounted a small Thing (to the hindering of my Fidelity to Christ and mens souls) to be judged of men, 1 Cor. 4. 3.

And if there should be any *Pastors* of the Churches, who instead of concurring to heal the Flocks of these dividing Principles, shall rather joyne with *Backbiters*, and encourage them in their misreports and slanders, because it tendeth to the supposed interest of their *Party* or themselves, let them prepare to answer such unfaithfulness to their *Consciences* which will shortly be awakned, and to the great Shepherd of the Flock who is at the door, and who told even the Devils Agents, that a *House or Kingdom* divided against itself cannot stand, but is brought to nought. Matt. 12. (If alas, alas, experience hath not yet, not yet, not yet, done enough to teach them this.)



TOLERATION

Disapprov'd and Condemn'd &c.

*Humbly presented to the serious Consideration
of all Dissenting Parties.*

My Brethren,

THE Lord Jesus (who knows all our Hearts, and before whose great Tribunal both you and I must one day appear) is my witness; that the cheif designe of my present undertaking, is the *Peace* and welfare of the *Church*; the continuance of the *Gospel*; and the eternal *Salvation* of pretious and immortal *Souls*. I do therefore much hope (though we are all naturally impatient of opposition) that you will favourably *receive*, and seriously *consider* these *plaine* (yet well meaning) *lines*; which have no other *patronage*, then the *charity* of the *Author*, and the candor and piety of those *persons* to whom they are *directed*.

The *solemnity* of this *Preface* as it may raise your expectations, so it may possibly invite your

B

curiosity

riosity to inquire; *who*, or what manner of person I am, that have taken the confidence of so important an Address.

And though the knowledge of my name would signifie little, (I being not so considerable as that it should add any weight to my performance) yet that I may in some sort gratify such obliging Readers (as I hope to find you) I shall farther acquaint you; that (though I am not a person very ambitious to be known yet) upon occasion, I shall either publickly *own*, and vindicate, or (if duely convinc'd) as *publickly* recant my present *opinion*; and (in short) to secure *you*, and Apologize for *my selfe*, (since concealed names are ever suspicious) I do solemnly protest: that I am no scoffer at *Religion*, nor railer at *true Piety*; that I *love* an honest religious good man (that endeavours to *save his soul*, and come to heaven) under what profession soever I find him: that I will pitty, and (according to my poor ability) rectify, but never make sport with his errors, and mistakes: and herein I doe readily subscribe to the learned *La Verulam*, That to turne *Religion* into a Comedy or Satyr, to search, and rip up wounds with a laughing countenance; to intermix
Scripture

Scripture & Scurrility sometimes in one Sentence, is a thing very far from the devout reverence of a christian, and scant befitting the honest regard of a sober man.

Two principal causes (saith this honourable person) have I ever known of Atheisme; curious Controversies, and prophane scoffing. And no less do I admire

(what I hope you will grant I have endeavoured to transcribe) that incomparable saying of the judicious

b Hooker. There will come a time when three words uttered with Charity and meekness, shall receive a far more blessed Reward, then three thousand

b The Preface to his Eccl: Pol Ser: 2.

volumns written with disdainful sharpness of Wit. But, if an irregular heat (which I will yet endeavour to suppress) should some little display it selfe; (it being very difficult to contend coldly, and without Affection, about things which we hold dear and pretious) and certainly the Peace of the Church is eminently such) if Passion, and Interest, should obtrude themselves under the notion of Zeale (which God knows, is no less common then fatal mistake in the management of our Controversies) I do then humbly beg of you, that you would seriously consider the following Words of the fore-cited good man; that, the manner of mens writings must not alienate our hearts from

the Truth, if it appear they have the Truth.

Having now (as far as 'tis judg'd convenient) given you an account of the Author, ^twill in all likelihood be next demanded (since this Subject hath been of late so fully, and as some think unanswerably discust) what convincing Reasons I have to trouble, either my Brethren to read, or my self to write, so common, and (whilest proposalls are on foot) so unwelcome a discourse.

Really (my Brethren) did I nor fear, that such frequent protestations might seem too affected; or that *Conscience* and *Reality*, might be mistaken for *humour* and *designe*; I would once more call the searcher of all Hearts to witness; that I am so far from a persecuting spirit (the usuall *brand* we bestow upon our Adversaries) that some Months since I had so favourable an opinion of *Indulgence*, *Cannivence*, or *Toleration*, that I little thought I should *now* appear an obstructor of so much *desir'd*, and (as I then apprehended) so blessed a work.

I am confident you are very forward to know the Reason of so sudden, and unexpected a change; tis therefore (omitting all farther pre-facing) in short thus.

Being

Being desirous to informe my selfe in the *Nature* and extent of *Toleration*, which I observ'd (in such variety of *methods*, by such different *Parties*) so zealously promoted; (and that under no less titles then *Liberty of conscience*; the great *Interest of all Kingdomes, and States, and particularly of England*) in order to a more full satisfaction (not omitting my hearty *Prayers* to the *Father of Lights*, from whom cometh every good and perfect gift, and who hath promised to give *Wisdome, Counsel, and direction* to him that asketh) I procur'd, and perus'd, some of the most considerable *Treats* and Pamphlets (*pro and con*) that have handled this Subject: and I must ingeniously confess (though I was not perfectly convinc'd yet) I did at first very much favour (whom I do yet no less pittie) the dissenting *Party*: and really it seem'd so plausible (since every man must answer for his *own* works) that every man should have the *Liberty* of his *own* opinion; and the name of *Conscience* is so sacred; that I durst not but make a *pause*, before I had pass'd a judgement upon such honest pretences. And (to make you my Confessors) I was no little affected with some *resentments* of a late ingeni-

ous Writer; his words are these.

c Propos: for
the safety of
King and
Kingdome.
Pag. 10.

There are a company of People about us in the Country of different perswasions, who meet sometimes many hundreds together, that our Justices have been in perplexity what to do. The most of them (for ought I perceive) are certainly inoffensive persons, and they have really no more against them, then Pliny against the Christians of old, when he sent to Trajan about them, that is, only that they meet, and Preach and Pray together: and if that excellent Prince was ashamed after this report he gave him, of them in his Epistle, to have those good men sought out any more unto punishment, I cannot but favour their inclinations, which are averse from the like Inquisition. I professe to God it is such an ungentleman like thing (me thinks) to trouble ones Neighbours, that I should be glad to rid modest men of that worke. It were better all these Aets suffered at once a due and Christian regulation, than we should be still put upon, this untoward dragging innocent Folks thus to Prison for doing nothing in earnest, but endeavouring to save their souls. In the name of God take you your Psalter, and let them say their Prayers as they will.

This, together with some other reflections drawne from the great Love of Christ to us
(which

(which therefore by way of *gratitude* wee are to acknowledge by suitable *Acts* of love, pity, and *indulgence* to our poore Brethren) did very much move me; The words of my Author are these.

There is a person I hope you would do a *kindnesse* P. 72.
for with all your heart, and you have Reason, it is for your dear Lord that bought you, and there is nothing in the world you can do (I am perswaded) that he will take so kindly from you at this time, as to be pitiful to his Servants, who are distressed about your *Acts* in point of Conscience, and who the more despised they are, and like unto their Lord, the suter Subjects they are for your compassion. And a little after--
If you had no need of mercy from God, it were tolerable then for you to be extreame towards others.

I hope this candid confession of my weaknesse (if yet it be a weakenesse to acknowledge my errours) shall not so far prejudice my Reader, as to hinder his acceptance of my following Reasons, if it appear that they are really such (*i. e.*) rational and convincing. To giue you therefore my Thoughts in order, my first reflection was this;

That though this *Toleration*, whilst considered in the notion, and as it were in the *Idea*, do carry
with

with it a great deal of outward glory and lustre, filling the hearts of men with expectations of much happinesse to ensue, (and no wonder if it be *therefore* entertain'd with generall applause especially of the Vulgar sort) yet when we come ad *practicandum*; to consider how this notion may best be made *practicall* and put in *execution*, wee shall then meet with such impediments, and inconveniences, as shall render the performance (to say no worse) very far short of promise, and expectation. And for my owne part (submitting it still to better judgements) I do find it so *unintelligible* and *unpracticable*, that however it is pretended (and that very highly) by others, yet in my apprehension (and indeed the proceſſe of the *World* sheweth no lesse) 'tis only a *Thing* for weaker Parties to talke on.

For, (to remind you *onely* of what others have more fully discuss'd) if a *Toleration* must be admitted, then either *Universall* and *unlimited*, (such as may comprehend even the Papiſts themselves) or else Particular, (*i. e.*) limited to some peculiar Persons or Parties.

As to the first, 'tis so perfectly wild and extravagant, that (in the judgement of all sober
Prote-

Protestants) it rather deserves an explosive scorn than a serious confutation.

For the second, viz: a *particular* and *limited*; unless (which seems the likeliest way to bring the work to some *Issue*) the dissenting Parties (who are many and of different persuasions) would clearly and distinctly acquaint the world, (in some publick *Writing* unanimously own'd) *who* they are that shall be indulged, and upon *what* conditions, we are yet never the nearer.

They give us indeed (by way of Resolution) some generall expressions: but these then are of so *doubtfull*, (I had almost said impossible) interpretation; that I appeal to any rational man (all prejudice and interest lay'd aside) whether such uncertainty's can be laid as a sufficient *Foundation*, on which to raise so considerable a *structure* as the Peace of the Church, and Prosperity of the Nation.

For whilst they tell us of *Reformed Religion* to be settled in its *due Latitude*, and yet never acquaint us what we are to understand by this *due Latitude*, what is the full extent, and meaning of the *Word*: whilst they propose; that the Parties comprehended in their establishment shall be of impor-

Disc. of
Relig. Title
pag.

Disc. of Rel.
Par. 1. p. 18.

tance in the *Publicke Interest*, and of *Principles* congruous to such stated Order in the Church, as the *stability of the Commonwealth* requires : and yet never inform us what these important *Interests*, and congruous *Principles* are; what other is it, but to trifle us with *Ambiguities* and *Amusements*? to trouble both themselves and others, in thus fiercely contending for a *Toleration*, in no body know's *What*, and to be granted to no body know's *Whom*?

I have given you a reflection, which if duely improv'd by some happier Pen, might possibly appeare of more difficult resolution, then your present *Sentiments* (occasion'd by the meanness of its delivery) may invite you to apprehend.

However, I am sure (as to mee) it hath been of sufficient moment to *revise* my former Thoughts; and to shew lesse *kindnesse* to your present *Toleration*, towards which I have been (very lately) more warmly affected.

But (to come yet closer to my intendment) that which did more *fully* (and if I mistake not unanswerably) convince me, was the perusal of severall Sermons preached by some of
our

our late eminent Divines (before the two Houses of Parliament) on solemn occasions. For I must not omit to tell you, that having heard those Discourses much commended (as being delivered by such famous Preachers, before such as were reputed so wise and judicious Auditors as the *Lords*, and *Commons*, and therefore without doubt did contain somewhat extraordinary) I procured a good number of them (about an hundred) and as my other occasions would permit (not without much expectation) set my selfe to the reading of them.

And indeed (that I may be faithfull to the memory of those Persons) I must acknowledge both to you and the world, I received no bad return of my labours; for I found (which is chiefly to my present purpose to observe) this point of *Toleration* so excellently, and fully discussed (though *obiter* only and as it were *by the by*) that no tract *ex instituto* (and there are some very ingenious) could ever afford me the like satisfaction.

Now that this may not be *gratis & precario dictum*; I shall very *faithfully* lay down their own Reasons in their own words; and then leave it to you and all men to consider; whether it be

not (morally at least) impossible; that so many excellently learned, and eminent Divines, should so frequently, (and that with such vehemency of zeale) oppose the very Name of Toleration (and which is yet more observable, that those very *Sermons* in which these invectives are contained, should not only receive the *Thanks* of the two Houses, but by their especiall order, be likewise made *Publick*) were there not some secret Danger in the *Thing*, which either the *Interest*, or *Security* of the present *Age*, will not now suffer us to apprehend?

*I speak as unto Wise men, Judge ye
what I say.*

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Dr. *Cornelius Burgesse.*
Mr. *John Ward.*
Mr. *William Good.*
Mr. *Thomas Thorowgood.*
Mr. *Humphrey Hardwick.*
Mr. *Arthur Salwey.*
Mr. *William Reyner.*
Mr. *Thomas Case.*
Mr. *John Lightfoot.*
Mr. *Thomas Watson.*
Mr. *George Hughes.*
Mr. *Edmund Calamy.*
Mr. *Richard Baxter.*
Mr. *Thomas Horton.*
Mr. *Lazarus Seaman.*
Mr. *Matthew Newcomen.*
Mr. *Richard Vines.*
Mr. *Simeon Ash.*
Mr. *James Cranford.*
Mr. *Thomas Edwards.*

Cujus aures clausæ veritati sunt, ut ab amico
verum audire nequeat, hujus salus desperanda
est. *Cic. Rhet. l. 1.*



The Testimonies of the fore-mentioned
Divines against Toleration.

' **G**ive me leave, I beseech you, to speak freely to
 ' you; I will do it humbly too.
 ' At your first sitting down, you expressed
 ' many brave and noble resolutions, of giving Gods busi-
 ' ness the precedency of all other your Affairs: and your
 ' beginnings promised much. Howbeit, I know not how
 ' it comes to pass, but so it is, that Gods work lies yet un-
 ' done. Matters of Religion lie a bleeding; all Govern-
 ' ment and Discipline of the Church is laid in her Grave,
 ' and all putredinous vermine of bold Schismatics and
 ' frantick *Sedaries* glory in her ashes, making her fall,
 ' their own rising to mount our Pulpits, to offer strange
 ' fire, to expell the gravest, ablest, and most eminent Mi-
 ' nisters in the Kingdome; (if not out of their Pulpits
 ' yet) out of the hearts of their People, as a company of
 ' weak men, *formalists*, *time-servers*, no Ministers of
 ' Christ, but *Limbs of Antichrist*; having no calling ex-
 ' cept from the Devill; and to forsake our Assemblies as
 ' Babylonish and *Antichristian*; so as in short time they
 ' will not leave us the face of a Church. And yet No
 ' Course is taken to suppress their fury & to reduce them to Or-
 ' der, which (as things now stand) will never be, till you put
 ' your hands to the Cure. ^b I beseech you therefore, in the
 ' Name of that great God, whom you serve, and who
 ' hath hitherto blest you, and for the Peace and prospe-
 ' rity of this Church and Kingdome, to resume and
 ' pursue

Dr. Corn.
 Burgesse
 Serm. before
 the house of
 Commons
 Novemb. 5.
 1641. p. 60.
 Lond. prin-
 ted for C.
 Meredith at
 the Crane
 in St. Pauls
 Church-
 yard. 1641.

b P. 63.

a P. 64.

b Serm: befor
the Com-
mons at a
publick Fast
March 30
1642 p. 35.

c P. 46.

d Serm: be-
fore the
Commons
at a publick
Fast April
30. 1645.
p. 51. & 52.

purſue your firſt thoughts of ſetting up God and his or-
dinances, as becomes you in a regular way ---- a That
our Church and the Government thereof may be no lon-
ger laid waſte, and expoſed to Confuſion, under the
plauſible pretence of *Not forcing mens Conſciences*. To
put all men into a courſe of Order and Vniſormity in
Gods way, is not to force the *Conſcience*, but to ſet up
God in his due place, and to bring all his people into the
path of righteouſneſſe and life.

b Be there none of you that foreſee the fatal miſchiefs
of leaving all men to their liberties in the things of God
and yet want hearts to uſe your Skill and intereſt to
make haſt to ſettle matters of Religion, leaſt you come
too late with a Remedy when the diſeaſe is growne in-
curable, and the Kingdome growne to that paſſe (as
the grave Hiſtorian noted of old Rome) that it can neither
beare the malady, nor endure the Cure. c Do you not ſee
or hear dayly of the diſorders, ſects, rents, and Schiſmes
that every where bud forth already, and threaten all Or-
der, Unitie, and Government. Give the water but a
paſſage without ſpeedy making up the Banks, and you
know how ſoon whole Seas will breake in upon us, and
render all irrecoverable and incurable. If one difficulty
occur to day, it will be doubled, yea multiplied to
morrow. There is no *Hydra* ſo fertil of heads, as *Errour*
and ſchiſme grown to ſome ſtrength and maturity. It will
aſke you but a ſhort time of *Connivence*, afterwards there
will be no curbing nor ſhameing of it. Nothing is ſo con-
ſident as ignorance, impudent as falſhood, and catching
as *Errour*.

d Take heed of thoſe ſpirits of *Errour*, who with faire
(ſpeciouſe, pargetted, glozeing words) ſeek to make
mer-

'merchandize of you, beguiling unstable soules. Beware
 'of those compliances with, and indulgences to all sorts of
 'Sects and Schismes now pleaded for, both by word and
 'writing, as it were part of Christs Legacy, and his
 'Peoples Liberty to be of what Religion they will; to be
 'tolerated in any opinions never so erroneous and pernicious
 '(untill further light:) that it is the Magistrates, du-
 'ty to protect them in that liberty; and that the contrary
 'thereunto is to persecute Christ.

'Hath God inserted this as one maine branch of his
 'Grand covenant with his People under the Gospell; I
 'will give them one heart and one way that they may fear me
 'for ever, * that is, that they may all call upon the name *Jer. 32. 39.*
 'of the Lord to serve him with one consent? Zeph; 3. 9.
 'Did Christ ascend up on high and give gifts unto men, and
 'gave some Apostles, some Prophets, and some Evangelists,
 'and some Pastors and Teachers, for the perfecting of the
 'Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the
 'body of Christ, 'till we all come, *de tui iheru + rion. into*
 'the unity of the Faith; and, is it Persecution, and Anti-
 'christianisme to engage all to Vnity and Vniformity?
 'Doth Paul bid the Philippians to beware of the Conci-
 'on? Philippians 3. 2. Doth he beseech the Romans
 'to marke those which cause Divisions and Offences
 'contrary to the doctrine which they had learned, and to a) And yet
 'avoid them; and that upon this ground, that they who *the Author*
 'are such, serve not the Lord Iesus but their own bellies, *of Libert. of*
 'however by good words and fair speeches they deceive *Consc. (p.*
 'the hearts of the simple? Rom: 16. 17. Doth he *32.) tells us*
 'writing to the Galatians wish, I would they were even *that this*
 'cut off that trouble you, *Text is lit-*
 'Gal: 5. 12. And is it such an *tle to the*
 'hainous offence now, for the faithfull servants of Christ, *purpose.*

to advise you to the same course? O Heavens? be astonished at this; and blush for the ignorance of some, and impudence of others, that dare so boldly presse for such a *Toleration*, which none but vaine destructive thoughts of carnall men can look upon, without indignation and horror.

Beware how you hearken to these Empiricks and Syrens, who seeke to charme the world into a deep sleepe, by presenting their confidence of a necessity of complying with all sorts of Sectaries, yea of trusting the Sword in their hands, and to defer the settling of matters of Religion during the war, for feare of loosing the Godly Party (as too many proudly stile themselves, by way of difference from all that are not of their opinions and ways) whar is this but to teach God a new forme of Politicks, to proclaime, that it is not alwaies safe to hold out the truth of the Gospel, and to command all men to embrace it, but much safer to halt between two opinions? Belike *Josiah* went beyond his bounds, when after himselfe had sworn a solemne Covenant to the Lord he made all *Judah* and *Benjamin* to stand to it, and made all that were present in *Israel* to serve the Lord their God. *2 Chron: 34. 32, 33.* and *Asa* much more, when he drew all the people into a Covenant, That whosoever would not seek the Lord God of *Israel*; should be put to death, whether small or great, man or woman *2 Chron. 15. 13.* b But the ample and transcendent Commendations which the Lord gives unto these pious Kings, especially in reference to their sincerity, and zeale in reforming and settling of Religion in one *Vniforme* way, may sufficiently warrant and encourage all Religious Magistrates, to take care that all under their

b *The Author of Lib. of Conf. p. 28. assures us the contrary when he tells us that What was done by the Kings of Israel & Judah cannot be reasonably made a rule to Magistrates now under the Gospell.*

{ Govern

Government, should all serve the Lord *with one shoulder;*
 this being not a Tyranny over men, but the Priviledge
 of the Gospel, Beware yet at last of that thought,
 that it is *not yet time to build the Lords house.* Judah paid dear
 for this, as I have heretofore shewed you at large, on
 Psalm : 76. 10. and in my former Sermon on this Text,
 and therefore shall spare my selfe and you, the paines of
 enlarging at the present. Settle this in your hearts; Gods
 Truth, the true Worship and Discipline of Christ, set
 up and established in one Vniforme way, never preju-
 dic'd any Nation or State (where it had free passage) in
 the least degree, but hath ever been their safety, happi-
 nesse, and honour. It is Errour (how much soever cry-
 ed up) not truth, (how much soever cryed downe and
 blasphemed) that makes and foments rents and factions. *a Mr. John Ward of*
 a Honourable and beloved, yet another word of Exhorta- *Ipswich in*
 tion to judge for God, and as God judgeth. 1. for God. *his Sermon*
 There are matters of God, as well as matters of the King *before the*
 or Kingdome; the care whereof must be upon you, as *Commons*
 well as upon us; his Church, his Kingdome, his City, *March 26*
 his house, his People, his Spouse, his Children, his body, *1645 p. 49.*
 ye as nursing Fathers, must tender the good and welfare *London printed for C.*
 of them, that they may find harbour and protection, *Meredith.*
 enjoy their just priviledges, and Liberties, where- *1645.*
 with Christ hath made them free: not such licentious-
 nesse as is abus'd for a Cloake of Naughtinesse. Ye must
 see to order and Uniry amongst them, that there be no
 rents and schismes; surely our Saviour that ascended into
 heaven and gave gifts to men, some Apostles, &c: that
 wee might all meet in the Vnitie of faith; and hath
 divers times, and after sundry manners, given that very
 thing in charge to his ministers, would not have the

Magistrate left at large from providing, and endeavouring, *that speaking or following the truth in love, we may grow up, making increase by edifying our selves and one another in Love.*

Ye must doe that, which we are to pray, that ye doe *viz. Take a Course that Christians may live in a Peaceable and quiet life in Godlinesse and honesty, not in strife and contention.*

There is ---- His Name, it may not be blasphemed, dishonoured. His Day, it must be sanctified.

27.50

His Gospell. Ye have Authority, and it is your duty to provide that it be duely preached. ^a That it be truly taught: not blended, adulterated, made another Gospell

His *Worship*, it must not be corrupted by Idolatry, superstitious *Innovations*, lest God be worshipped in vaine while they teach for Doctrines the Commandments of men. His *Ministrie*, it ought to be purged, planted, lights set up in every bowle of the Candlestick, encouraged, maintained, and abetted in the work of the Lord.

His *Sacraments*, it is your honour as your duty to see that they be kept pure in the celebration and ministration, of them. There is a book-case for it. Num. 9. 7. there were certaine men &c: but if this be not full, the Presidents. 2 Chron: ch: 15. ch: 30. and ch: 35 will rule the Case for the Civill Magistrate, and make out this: That where the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church doth not, or cannot prevaile, the Magistrate must interpose his Coercive Power for restraint and remedy --- in a word: God hath many things amongst us that must be protected and maintain d; and the matters of God have many adversaries which must be watched, and

and suppressed; for ye bear not the sword in vain; ye are Gods Ministers attending continually upon this very thing. Magistrates and Ministers have (as ye see) one common style of Office; that ye in your place, and we in our Function and Order, should mind and promote the things of God; ye by the *Sword*, and we by the *Word*; you are keepers of both Tables, the first and great commandment, as well as the second that is like unto it, both come sometimes as occasion is under your cognizance.

And ye know what a brand sticks to this day upon Gallio (though an Heathen Magistrate) that he cared not for the matters of the Law and Worship according to the Law when question was brought; no, though there were insurrections and tumults upon that occasion: and for Gamaliels counsell, *Refrain from these men and let them alone: for if this counsell or this work, be of men, it will come to naught; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God* though it be found within the Bible, yet it is not of like Authority with one of Solomons proverbs or maxims of Policy: it hath no otherwise the approbation of God for good, then the designe of Pharaoh, or the crafty counsell of Achitophel which are also recorded in the scripture: it will not consist with other rules of the word, and hath been condemned as unsound, and unsafe by many godly and wise men; we have more sure words of scripture out of which we draw the doctrine of the Magistrates power and duty in the matters of God and Religion, then the loose speech of such a Neutralist and time serving Politician as Gamaliel was. Go on therefore, I beseech you as you began; take us the little foxes as well as the ravening wolves. These be they who sepe-

P. 51.

b If this be true the

Authr of the Prop. for

King and Kingdome

shewed more zeale then

knowledge, when ha-

ving menti-

oned the Counsell of

Gamaliel he thus addes,

I wish to the Lord,

the great Ministers of

our state would be content to

be no wiser men then Gamaliel

P. 36. c p. 26.

rate

rate themselves, sensual not having the spirit. They
 Boast indeed (much) of the spirit, but they manifestly
 do the works of the flesh. They plead for liberty, but it
 is licentiousnesse. Liberty of Conscience they term it, but
 it is Liberty of practise, that every man may do what is
 good and right in his own eyes. They pretend to nothing
 but Piety and Godlinesse, and seem as if they would be
 content if they might but have a bare subsistence in the
 profession of it. So did the Jesuites to learning, when they
 first appeared upon the Stage, but when they had once
 insinuated themselves into the good Opinion of Princes
 and States, how well they answered the expectations,
 and required the kindnesse of those who nursed them up
 all the Christian world sees and feels to their cost at this
 day. They aske But *Connivence* and *Toleration*, but if they
 once meet in a confluence, and find themselves strong
 enough to run in a streame, let but a damme be Pitcht
 down to restraints or oppose their madnesse, or men fol-
 low not on, to indulge and gratify their humour, it would
 soon appeare, whether or no they would rage & swell &
 get over, or bear down afore them all that should stand in
 their way. They did seem a while to cry up the *Order* of
Parliaments and of the *Civil Magistrate*, and have their
 persons in admiration, but meely for advantage, that so
 they may get above all Ecclesiasticall Authority, & when
 they are once up to their height, what they will do with
 the Ladder, they hope to climbe and ascend by, is not
 hard to conjecture. They reckon themselves the *VVheat* in
 the field, and when once they are ripe, they will easily
 be content to have all that *threshed* of, by which they re-
 ceived their growth. Ye have heard of the fable of the
 Snake and the Countryman that brought it unto the fire,

'I shall not need to apply it. Already they begin to re-
 'move the old land markes and Straiten their bounds.
 'they deny their claime up to an high water marke, and
 'make their bankes, and inclose for themselves to the ve-
 'ry channel side. But whether it be holden fit or seasona-
 'ble that these *Libertines* be decried, for my part, I cannot
 'yet discover by any acti venesse to suppress them: onely
 'seeing the evil and foreseeing the mischief, I have given
 'the warning, that at least I may deliver mine own soule.
 'I pray God the remedy be not deferred till it be too late
 'and ye be dricen to play an after-game to an extreame
 'hazard and disadvantage.

a 'I doubt not but your Souls abhor that bloody Te-
 'net to the soules of men, That it is the duty of the Ma-
 'gistrate to Tolerate all Religions. You have carried out
 'the Dust behind the door, and this Opinion will bring all
 'the mire in the streets into the house of God againe.
 'Cambyses had a lust to marry his sister, and his Counsel-
 'lers told him, there was no law whereby to do it: But with
 'all they told him, there was a law that the Kings of Persia
 'might do what they list, and by this he might marry his
 'Sister. What is it that shall be unlawfull, if this be law-
 'full for every man to make a Law and Religion for hi m
 'selfe?

a Mr. Will-
 am Good
 Sermon before
 the Comm:
 March 26.
 1645.
 Lond print-
 ed for C.
 Meredith
 P. 36.

'Put some stop by your Authority to the growth of
 'Errours, that are destructive, to the power of Godlineffe.
 'and let not this suspend your sanction, because somewhat
 'broach them pretend to *Godlineffe*; an enemy the more
 'like he is to a freind the more dangerous.

'a The third use of Confutation; it is of the Remon-
 'strants

M. Thomas
Thoroughgood
Serm: be-
fore the
Commons at
a solemn
fast Dec. 25.
1644
his Text
Phil. 4. v. 5.
Let your mo-
deration be
known unto
all men
Lond prin-
ted for Chr.
Meredith
1645. p. 10
a Sure this
Gentleman
is mistaken,
I alwaies
thought Re-
monstrants
and Armi-
nians had
been the
same.

strants, ^aArminians & Socinians, who endeavour from my
Text to get countenance for that *Babylonish* Errour, the
allowance of all opinions, as if because the Apostle saith
let your moderation be known unto all men, therefore
all mens conceits must bee born with in Reli-
gion, and every one suffered in what he supposeth to be
truth. It is a cunning and coufening devise, that strikes
in with corrupt nature; but because it offers violence to
my Text, I cannot be true to it, or you, if some-
what be not added by way of vindication; and it
shall be in these six particulars. First is it probable
that our Apostle: who elsewhere almost every where is
so zealous for *Vnity* against Schismes, should in any sort
Tolerate them, and so volun tarily open a wide doore for
division? in this very Epistle he writes for Peace even
passionately but with with mighty power *Phil. 2. 1. 2.*
If there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort
of Love, if any fellowship of the spirit, if any bowells
and mercies, fullfill ye my joy, that ye be like-minded,
having the same Love, being of one accord, and of one
mind. And in the next Chap. 3. 16. --- Let us walk by
thesame Rule, let us mind the same thing: expressions
different from all licentious Tolerations. The same A-
postle abounds in serious Dehortations from Schismes
and dissentions, *Rom. 13. 12. 16. 17.* and as carnall.
1 Cor. 3. 3. and in other places. And he doth very of-
ten exhort with earnest words and arguments, not only
that we be like-minded, *Rom: 15. 6. Phil. 2. 2.* and of
one mind, *2 Cor. 13. 12.* but of the same mind. *1 Cor. 10,*
10. joynd, yea joynted together in the same mind, and
in the same judgement: And is here the least approbati-
on of that multiplying Doctrine? Neither will that ex-
cuse,

cuse, so long as they all breath Christ, tend to the advancement of Christ, it matters not: but let *S. Paul* answer this Objection also; is *Christ divided*? *1 Cor. 1. 13.* Consider it well, and season your Consideration with that of our Master Christ himselfe, *Mat. 9. 50. Have salt in your selves, and have Peace one with another*: If we were preserved by humility from the corruptions of self-opinion, it would be no hard matter to embrace unity.

Secondly, such allowance would prove destructive to holiness both Personall and Domesticall; *Omnis Religio & nulla Religio*, would soon be the same: Suppose the Husband of one Opinion, the Wife of another, the Children, (it may be) of one or two other, and the Servants of as many more; what shall the Master of the house do here? how perform the Family duties? diversity of Opinions, like so many hatches interrupting their prayers, *1 Pet. 3. 7.* chopping all devotion and piety in pieces: As the Duke of *Wittenberge* was wont to say, New Garments introduce new manners, new manners bring in new men, and new men thrust out the old; so new Opinions suffered will devour the old; and the Toleration of every Religion will destroy all Religion, and in conclusion leave no Religion at all.

Thirdly, this Liberty is inconsistent with civil tranquility; the bleeding condition of our own nation at present is a living, almost a dying witness of this; and if that one Religion of Popery, so tolerated as it was, hath brought in upon us so many destructions; what will that multiplication do, but hasten desolation without recovery? for every part would endeavour to support it selfe, to the prejudice of the rest, *et dum de Religione certatum est Regio,*

E

dum

dum de celo terra amissa; as it was said long since.

Fourthly the late *Bishops* of *Ireland* may put this Liberty to silence and shame; for when not long since a *Toleration* of Popery in that Kingdome was proposed they said, To give the Papists a *Toleration* is a grievous sin, and will make us accessary to all their Abominations and the perdition of all seduced soules.

a) Defence
of Prop. p.
20 highly
commends
this judge-
ment of the
wise Empe-
rour Soly-
man, and is
sorry that
his Adver-
sary is of a-
nother bu-
mour.

Fifthly this may be currant Doctrine amongst the Turks and the grand Seignior told his Mufti, that is, his chief Priest, As a garden is beautified with variety of flowers so his Empire would be adorned with diversities of Religion. Let such *Toleration* find allowance in the Turk's Paradise, it shall never, I trust, be planted in the Paradise of God.

bM. Humpb.
Hardwick
Ser. before
the Comm:
June 26.
1644.
Lond print-
ed for Chr.
Meredith
1645.
p. 43.

Sixthly Wee have undertaken all in the National Covenant, the establishment of *Uniformity*, and how can that stand with this *Omniformity* indeed *Nulliformity*, I understand not: it was a prodigious thing in the dayes of *Jeremiah* the Prophet, *Jer. 2. 28.* according to the Number of thy Cities are thy Gods, O *Judah*: here would soon appear another kind of multiplying and increase; but though this fancy be never so plausible, Divine providence hath shut it out of our campe by our Covenant.
b A thing pleasing to God and profitable to the Kingdomes, by which there is and through Gods blessing may be the most famous blow given to the whore of *Babylon*, and her Bastard Impes that ever yet was: now to have this stick among us or laid aside, whilst Malig-nants and Sectaries live in our Bosome, blessing, and in secret applauding themselves, that they have neither taken this nor any of your former protestations. This is our case, and I appeal to wiser Judgements, whether this may

' not be the way to lessen the honour and Authority of the
 ' high court of Parliament. ^a Consider I beseech you (*Wor- a M. Arth:*
 ' thy Christians) that the vowes of God are upon you, you *Salwey be-*
 ' have abjured *Neutrallitie* in your late *Solemne Covenant*, *fore the*
 ' far be it from any of you to glory in luke warm indif- *Com: Olib.*
 ' ferency, as if it were a piece of singular Policy. You have *25. 1643.*
 ' with your Tongues renounced this Neutrality as detesta- *p. 19. Lond.*
 ' ble. Follow the Lord in promoting a National Reforma- *printed for*
 ' tion. You have an admirable Patterne; the zealous Pro- *Chr. Mere-*
 ' phet *Elijah*; I wish from my soule that a double portion *disb. 1644.*
 ' of his spirit may be given unto you, that you may act
 ' in his power and spirit. *Elijah* oppos'd Idolatry and
 ' Oppression; so do ye: down with *Baals Altars*, down with
 ' *b Baals Priests*; do not (I beseech you) consent unto a *To- b Arch-*
 ' leration of *Baals* Worship in this Kingdome upon any *Bishops, Bi-*
 ' Politicke consideration whatsoever ---- Give me leave *shops, Deans,*
 ' to be your humble Remembrancer. The mouths of your *Chapters.*
 ' Adversaries are opened against you; the hearts of your *&c.*
 ' true freinds are griev'd, that so many *c Delinquents* are in *c Hone; i*
 ' Prison, and yet but very few of them brought to their *Royalists.*
 ' tryal. ^d Ye cannot preach, nor praye them down direct- *d M. Williã*
 ' ly, and immediately ---- well, that which the *Word* can- *Reyner be-*
 ' not do, the *Sword* shall; that which the water cannot *fore the*
 ' wash out the fire will burn out; unto this particular the *Com. Aug.*
 ' Apostle applies this very *f* Text in part, namely concern- *28. 1644.*
 ' ing the shakeing of the heavens &c: an Earthquake (as *Lond.*
 ' we have heard) was appointed to shake down the Ce- *Printed for*
 ' remoniall ordinances; now if this were necessary for the *Sam. En.*
 ' abolition of that divine Worship which had sometimes *derby 1644.*
 ' been by Gods own holy Institution, how much more *p. 12.*
 ' shall that which hath beene of human Invention (yea the *e Errors*
 ' very fumes and fogs of the bottomlesse Pit) to Gods in- *f Haggai*
 ' finite *2.6.7.*

'finite displeasure and dishonour, be tumbled down with
'violence, and vengeance to hell, from whence it
'came.

a 'There is a word of Exhortation behind, and I beseech
'you suffer it.

a M. Thomas

Case Sermon:
before the

Comm: May
26. 1647.

P. 33. Lond
printed for

Luke Fawne
at the Par.

rot in Pauls
Church

yard, 1647.

'First, to you *Honourable and noble Patriots*, who are
'called to be Reformers and healers of a poor broken
'Kingdom. Doth not indeed the *punishing and suppressing*
'of spirituall whoredomes against God, *Idolatrie, Heresie,*
'*Blasphemie*, and the rest: doth it not belong unto you,
'as well as the punishing bodily whoredomes, theft, mur-
'der &c: doth it indeed belong to you only to looke to
'the civil peace, and to let Religion, and truth, and the
'worship of God stand or fall to their own master?
'fight God, fight Divell, fight Christ, fight Antichrist;
'catch that catch can; you have nothing to do but to stand
'by and looke on, say so then; speake out, publish it in
'your *Declarations* to the world, and let the People of
'*England* know that it is the right and liberty, to which
'the Subjects of *England*, are borne, that Every man hold
'what he please, and publish, and preach what he holds;
'that it is the birth-right (as some would have it) of the
'free born people of *England* every man to Worship
'God according to his own Conscience, and to be of what
'Religion his own Conscience shall dictate. Do so and see
'(Fathers and Brethren) how long your Civill peace will
'secure you when Religion is destroyed; how long it will
'be ere your civill peace be turned into civill war, for no
'doubt if this once be granted them, but they may in good
'time come to know also (there be them, that are instruct-
'ing them evē in these principles too) that it is their birth-
'right to be freed from the power of Parliaments, and
'from

‘from the power of *Kings*; and to take up armes against
 ‘both when they shall not vote and act according to their hu-
 ‘mours. Liberty of Conscience (falsly so called) may in
 ‘good time, improve it selfe into liberty of *Estates*, and
 ‘liberty of *Houses*, and liberty of *wives*, and in a word
 ‘liberty of *perdition* of souls and bodies.

‘Right Honourable and worthy Gentlemen, I cannot
 ‘stand to dispute, this only would I know of you; are I-
 ‘dolaters, and Hereticks, and Blasphemers, and Seducers
 ‘are they evill doers? if so, then look to your Charge
 ‘*Rom. 13, 4. Rulers must be a Terror to evill Doers*
 ‘unless ye mean to bear the sword in vaine. And if you will
 ‘God will not; and if God take the Sword into his own
 ‘hand once, (as he seems to be a doing of it) he will
 ‘smite to purpose; he will execute vengeance throughly:
 ‘both upon the evill doers, and upon you that have not
 ‘been a Terror to them. Oh therefore up and be doing, *a Ser before*
 ‘that ye may deliver the Kingdome out of the hand *the Com;*
 ‘of the Lord; for it is a fearfull thing to fall into the *Feb. 19.*
 ‘hands of the living God. O let not your Patience (I *1645. p. 25.*
 ‘hope it is no more all this while) be interpreted a Con- *b Aug. Ep.*
 ‘nivence, and your Connivence be taken for a Toleration, *166.*
 ‘it may be the Kingdoms ruine, but it will be your sin. *vid. Ammi.*
an Marcel.
 ‘*lib. 22. p.*

‘Fathers and brethren how will ye call this keeping of
 ‘Covenant with God? Had we a Parliament of Apostate *208. 209*
 ‘*Julians*, of whom it is reported, that at what time he o- *Edit. Hen:*
 ‘pened the temples of the Heathenish Gods, he set o- *Valesii.*
 ‘pen the Christian Churches, call’d home all the Chri- *Defence of*
 ‘stians whom he had banisht, both Orthodox and Here- *the Prop.*
 ‘tick, and gave them (as we call it) Liberty of Consci- *calls this of*
 ‘ence, but as *Austin* more truly phraseth it, *b Libertatem* *Julian a*
 ‘*perditionis*, Liberty to destroy themselves; for that was *Politick*
 ‘his thing. *p 98.*

*Et modo
putans Chri-
stianum no-
men posse
perire de
terris &c.*

his Policy and end, namely by liberty of all Religions, to destroy the True, and the Professors thereof too. Or had we a Parliament of careless *Gallio's* we should not wonder: but for a Parliament of Christians, Protestants, Professors, the Choicest, the most active that could be cull'd out of a Christian State, the like not under heaven; that these things should be done, and you hold your Peace, and be able to keep your places, and not to put on Righteousness as a Breast-plate, and the Garments of Vengeance for your Cloathing, as it is said of God; this makes the Churches abroad to wonder what Englands Parliament is a doing, and all at home that love the Lord Jesus Christ more then their own Interests and Notions, to be filled with unspeakable trembling and astonishment, to wit, what God means to do with this poor bleeding Church and State.

*a Ser. before
the Comm.
Aug. 22.
1645. p. 29.*

a If you mean that England shall be turned into a wilderness, and be over-run with *Atheisme*, and *Heresie*, and *Prophaneness*, and *Blasphemy*, you may hold your hands, and you need not do it long.

*b Ser. before
the Comm:
Feb. 19.
1645. p. 25.*

b The Errors and Innovations under which we so much groan'd of later years were but *tolerabiles ineptia*, tolerable trifles, childrens play, compared with these damnable doctrines, *Doctrines of Devils*, as the Apostle calls them: *Polygamy*, *Arbitrary Divorce*, *Mortality of the Soule*, *No Ministry*, *No Churches*, *No Ordinances*, *No Scripture*, yea, the very *Divinity of Christ* and the *Holy Ghost* questioned by some, denied by others, And the very foundation of all these laid in such a *Schisme of Boundless Liberty of Conscience*, viz: *Believe what you will, and Preach what you Believe*, and such *Lawless separation of Churches*: and all these not

only

not only whispered in Corners, but Preacht on the house
top, yea, publiht in *Print* before your faces with so
much virulency and impudence, that I verily believe no
Age since the Apostles time could ever parallel.

^a There be a Generation of men in the Land that stand
up for all kind of false Worship; that every man may
Worship God after his own Conscience, or if they will not
own it in words at length they will have it in figures: And
if they may not, are ready, not only to cry, but to act
Persecution, and that to purpose: for while they cry *Per-*
secution gladio oris they are ready to act persecution *ore*
gladii. I pray God it may never be englished.

a *Sermon*
before the
Commons
May 26.
1647. p. 25.

^b There is great talk of, and pleading for *Liberty of*
Conscience, for men to do in matters of Religion, as Israel
did in the booke of Judges, whatsoever seemeth good in
their own eyes; and how that proved there, there are
sad stories that relate. I shall not goe about to deter-
mine the question, whether the Conscience may be
bound or not, though for mine own satisfaction I am re-
solved it may, and do hold it a truer point in Divinity
that *errans conscientia liganda*, then *ligat*, but certainly
the Devil in the Conscience may be, nay he must be
bound; or else you act not according to that vigour that
Christ hath put into your hands, nor according to that
exactness that Christ requireth at your hands. It is true
indeed which is so much talked of, that *Christ alone must*
reign in the Conscience, but it is as true also, that he doth
so by the Power that he hath put into the hands of the Magi-
strate, as well as by his word and spirit.

b M. John
Lighthfoot
Ser. before
the Comm.
Aug. 26.
1645. p. 30.
Lond. print-
ed for And.
Crook at
the Green
Dragon in
Pauls Chur:
yard. 1645.
c M. Thom:
Watson be-
fore the
Com: Decem-
27. 1649.
p. 17. Lond.
Printed for
Ra: Smith

^c If Conscience be a sufficient plea, the Papist will come
in for a Childs part. Conscience must have a Rule, it
binds only *virtute praecepti*, by virtue of a precept. If
Conscience

at the Bible
in Cornhil

M. Hughes
Serm. be-
fore the
Com: May
26. 1647.
p. 34. Lond.
Printed for
John Roth
well at the
Sunne foun-
tain in
Pauls Ch-
yard.
Dub.

Conscience goes against the Word, *Deponenda est talis Conscientia*. Get conscience better informed.

a. I must say that the *Toleration of all things must be a destructive Principle to the State or Church where ever it be allowed*. Experience hath shewed us no less in Kingdoms and Churches Called by Gods name. These are only suggested which need a larger Treatise to state fully. Ye Servants of Christ, take heed of yeelding to the pretences of Conscience, the Devil and not Christ hath his Throne there; And no stronger hold for him than Conscience. if he once take it. Christ will not suffer him to shelter there, therefore ye may not, so much as in you lieth.

Doe not other States, as some of the united Provinces tolerate all these Heresies, and protect them, and yet they prosper? who more?

Sol.

I desire not to deal with other States, unless I might do them good, I am now only called to our own, yet others being made exemplary, a word in soberness and truth may not offend. I suggest only these thoughts.

1. Can any man say, that prosperity is a sign peculiar unto Truth? then let Rome come in and speak more than any for outward prosperity.

2. Are not spirituall wickednesses as odious to God as carnall? and are not these Heresies such, which God condemnes as works of the flesh, inconsistent with the Kingdome of Christ?

3. Hath God made an end yet of visiting Nations for the sinnes of them? when God hath done judging were a better time to urge this Example then now. I pray God the evill day may not overtake those States; the good Lord cause the Cup of trembling to pass by them and purge their iniquities peaceably. But I am pressed in
Spirit

'Spirit to say, God hath not spared such State Politics,
 'which have sought their own rise by the ruine of God
 'and his Truth. Witness Jeroboam the Son of Nebat,
 'who made Israel to sin. *And he bids sin that doth not hinder* *Qui non ve-*
 'it when he can ----- Gods Truth, my beloved, and not *tat peccare*
 'mans example must be the Rule ---- if Heresies yet must *cum potest*
 'be, let us mourn for what we cannot help; it is a mi- *jubet. Sen.*
 'serable necessity when not allowed; *it will be rejoicing*
 'in iniquity, either for State or Church willfully to tole-
 'rate.

a ' Though God hath given us glorious victories over a *M. Ed. Cal.*
 'our Enemies, yet the Churches of Christ ly desolate, *lamy Ser. be.*
 'Church - Reformation is obstructed, Church - Discipline *fore the Ld*
 'unsettled, Church - Divisions increased. The famous Ci- *Meyor Jan.*
 'ty of London is become an Amsterdam, Separation from *14. 1645.*
 'our Churches is countenanced, Toleration is cryed up, Au- *p. 3.*
 'thority lyeth asleep. ---- b It would seem a wonder if I b *Ser. before*
 'should reckon how many seperated Congregations, or ra- *the Lords*
 'ther Segregations, there are in the City: what Churches *Dec. 25.*
 'against Churches &c. ----- the Lord Knows that I men- *1644. p. 13.*
 'tion these things with a sad heart. c Divisions whether *cut supra*
 'they be Ecclesiasticall or Politicall, in Kingdomes, Citties, *p. 4.*
 'or Families, are insallible causes of Ruine to Kingdoms, Cit-
 'ties, and Families.

d ' Hereby the hearts of People are mightily distra- *d p. 14.*
 'cted, many are hindred from Conversion, and even the
 'Godly themselves have lost much of the power of God-
 'liness in their lives. I say the hearts of People mightily
 'disturbed, while one Minister preacheth one thing as a
 'truth of the Gospel, and another Minister Preacheth
 'the quite Contrary with as much Confidence as the for-
 'mer.

a P. 17.

a^c If Divisions be so destructive to Kingdoms, Cities, and Families? this reproveth those that are the Authors, and Fomentors of these Divisions that are now amongst us. These are the Incendiaries of England. *If he that sets one house on fire deserveth hanging, much more they that set a whole Kingdom on fire.* If he that murders one man must be put to death, much more he that Murders three Kingdoms: *Mark them* (saith the Apostle Rom. 16. 17.) *that cause divisions and Offences contrary to the Doctrine which ye have Learned and avoid them.* Avoid them as the greatest enemies of England. These are like the Salamander that cannot live but in the fire of contention. These are of a Jesuiticall spirit. And no doubt the heads and hands of the Jesuits are in all our Divisions.

b P. 33.

Mat. 12. 25.
Every King
dom divi-
ded against
it selfe is
brought to
Desolation.

b^c Take heed of the Land-destroying opinion of those that plead for an illimited toleration of all Religions, even of Turkisme, Judaisme, &c. The Lord keep us from being poysoned with such an Error! * This Text riseth up against it, for *it will divide a Kingdome against it self.* It will rend it in a thousand pieces. It is a Doctrine directly contrary to your late Oath and Covenant. *A Doctrine that overthroweth all Church Government, bringeth in Confusion, and openeth a wide door unto all irreligion and Atheisme:* For at the same door that all false Religions comes in, the true Religion will quickly get out, and if it be as good for a man to live where nothing is lawfull, as where all things are lawfull; surely it is every way as uncomfortable to live where there are all Religions, as where there is no Religion at all.

c P. 37.

c^c It is your Duty (Right Honourable) whom God hath entrusted with great Power, to suppress these Divisions

'visions and Differences in Religion, by your Civil Au-
 'thority, as farr as you are able, least you are accessary un-
 'to them. For God hath made you *Custodes utriusq; Ta-*
 'bule, Keepers not of the second Table only (as some
 'fondly imagine) but of the First Table also, and not on-
 'ly Keepers, but *vindices utriusq; Tabule*, Punishers also
 'of those that transgress against either of them. For you
 'are the *Ministers of God for good, and Revengers, to exe-*
 'cute wrath upon him that doth evill; *Rom. 13. 4.* and
 'God hath deputed you for the *Punishment of evill doers,*
 'and for the *Praise of them that do well. 1. Pet. 2. 19.*
 'There be some that would blot out halfe your Commis-
 'sion, and restrain this good and evill, to Civil good, and
 'to evils only against men. But this is against that gene-
 'rall Rule, *Non est distinguendum, ubi Lex non distinguit.*
 'Where the Law doth not distinguish, there must not
 'we distinguish. Tell me I beseech you, *Shall it be law-*
 'full for *Magistrates to punish those that destroy mens Bodies,*
 'but not those that destroy mens Souls? Shall they be
 'blamed for suffering men to draw people away from o-
 'bedience to the Laws of the Land, and to themselves,
 'and not also for suffering men to draw away people from
 'the Truth of the Gospell, and from the ways of God,
 'such as *Hymeneus and Philetus, who overthrow the*
 '*Faith of some, and their words eat as a Canker?* shall
 'Christian Magistrates take up the *Maxime of Tiberius,*
 '*Deorum injuriis Diis cura esse?* Let God himself take
 'care to vindicate himself from injuries committed a-
 'gainst God? as for mee, I will (just like *Gallio*) take
 'care of none of these things. Can Christian ears endure
 'such Language? Doth not God Prophesy, *Isaiah 49.*
 '23. That in the New Testament *Kings shall be our Nur-*

sing Fathers, and Queens our nursing Mothers? And how
 ' can a Christian Magistrate discharge that duty aright if
 ' he hath not power from God, to punish those that would
 ' poyson the souls of his weak Children with Heresies and
 ' soul destroying opinions?

Object.

' Will you allow the Magistrate to Tyrannize over
 ' mens Consciences?

Ans.

' By no means. But I believe it is the duty of Magistrats
 ' to keep men from infecting their Subjects with soul de-
 ' stroying Errors. If thou hast an Hereticall Opinion, have
 ' it to thy self, and the Magistrate will not; nay, cannot
 ' meddle with thy Private Conscience. But if thou labou-
 ' rest to infect others with thy Grace-destroying Opinions,
 ' I doubt not but the Magistrate is bound to keep thee from
 ' spreading thy infection to the undoing of the Souls of his
 ' Subjects. If he may lawfully shut up a man that hath
 ' the Plague upon his body, that he may not infect others,
 ' why not a man that hath the Plague of Heresie upon his
 ' Soul, that so he may not destroy the souls of Thousands.
 ' Shall a Master in a Family have power to put away a
 ' Servant that is tainted with a gross opinion, and yet not
 ' be called a Tyrant over that Servants Conscience? and
 ' shall not the chief Magistrate of a Kingdome have power
 ' to put out of his Kingdome (at least to shut up from
 ' doing hurt) one that is his Subject and polluted with blas-
 ' phemous, Hereticall, Idolatricall Opinions? *Is not the*
 ' *Kingdom the Magistrats house and Family?*

a Ser. before

the Comm.

Of Job. 22.

1644.p.26.

' This is a certain Rule, *That all the Sins of the King-*
 ' *dom which are committed by your connivence or allow-*
 ' *ance, are the Parliament Sins, and they call for a Parlia-*
 ' *ment Repentance.* And therefore I beseech you search and
 ' try

try your hearts, and consider how far you are accessary to the sins of the *Kingdome*, that so you may be wrought up not only to a *personall* but a *Parliament* humiliation. And if it doth appear, that you have taken more care in settling your own *Liberties*, then in settling of *Religion*; If you have taken more care to build your own houses then Gods house, this is a crying Sin; and this makes you accessary to a Thousand Sins that are committed in the Kingdome. Again, if you do not labour according to your duty, and according to your power, to suppress the *Errors* and *Heresies* that are spread in the Kingdome; all these *Errors* are your *Errors*, and these *Heresies* are your *Heresies*, and they are your Sins, and God calls for a *Parliamentary Repentance* from you for them this day; You are the *Anabaptists*, and you are the *Aninomianians*, and it is you that hold *That all Religions are to be tolerated* &c. And these are your Errors if they spread by your *Connivence*. For the Sins of the Sons of old Ely are imputed to old Ely himselfe. And when the People of Israel had prophaned the Sabbath, *Nehemiah* contended with the Nobles of Judah for suffering them, and tells them, that it was they that did prophane it, because they suffered the People to prophane it, *Neb. 13.*

17. a 'It was none of the Old cause that the People should have *Liberty* and the Magistrate should have no *Power* in all matters of Gods Worship, faith and Conscience.

'And as it is not the Old Cause, so it is not a Good Cause.

'For first it contradicteth the expresse Revelation of the will of God in the holy Scriptures. *Moses* had to do in matters of Religion as a Magistrate; and so the ruling Elders

a M. Ric.
Baxter Ho-
ly Common-
wealib.

Addition to
Pres. Prop.
6. Lond
printed for
Tho: Un-
derbil at
the Anchor

and Bible
in Pauls
Ch: yard
1659.

' Elders of Israel that assisted him; And so had the Kings
 ' of *Israel* and *Judah*, as is well known, insomuch that in
 ' *Asa's* days they covenanted to put him to Death that
 ' would not seek the Lord God of *Israel*. 2. It tendeth to
 ' the ruine of the Commonwealth, and therefore it is no
 ' good cause. How God was provoked By *Aarons* Calfe,
 ' and by his Sons, that offered strange fire which the Lord
 ' commanded not *Lev. 10.* & what was the effect, & what
 ' benefit the Calves at *Dan* and *Beihel* brought to *Israel*
 ' and *Jeroboams* house, and the high places, and other
 ' Errours about worship, brought to the Princes and Peo-
 ' ple of *Judah* we need not particularly recite.

' Law and providence are quite changed, if Toleration of
 ' false Worship and other abuses of Religion, tend not to the ru-
 ' ine of the Commonwealth.

' If *Mazistrates* must give Liberty for all to propagate
 ' a false Religion, then so must *Parents* and *Masters* also
 ' (for their Coercive power is rather lesse then the *Ma-*
 ' *gistrates* then more, and they are no more Lords of faith
 ' or Conscience) But if all *Parents* and *Masters* should
 ' give such a Liberty, it would be a crime so horrid in the
 ' nature and effects, as I am loath to name with its proper
 ' Titles.

' *A pari*, it tendeth to the destruction of an Army to
 ' give liberty to all men to do their worst to draw them to
 ' Mutinies and Rebellion. It tends to the ruine of *Families*
 ' that all have liberty to do their worst to tempt the Sons
 ' to Theft and drunkenness, and the wife and Daughter
 ' to whoredome. It tends to the Destruction of the Com-
 ' monwealth if there be liberty for all to perswade the
 ' the People to Sedition and Rebellion: And therefore it
 ' must tend to the destruction of the Church and mens
 ' souls

'souls, and consequently of the Commonwealth in the
'cheif respects, if all have leave to do their worst to
'preach up infidelity, Mahometanisme, Popery or any
'false Doctrine or Worship, against the great and necessary
'Truths.

'I leave it therefore to the judgement of all men that
'are not fast a sleep in their security, and utterly unac-
'quainted with the advantages of the Papists, whether this
'designe of engaging the Magistrate by a fundamentall
'constitution, not to meddle with matters of faith and
'Worship, but leave them all to Christ alone, be not the
'present setting up of Popery in England, and the deliver-
'ing all the fruit of our labours, Prayers and victories into
'the Papists hands.

'Obj. But Liberty for Popery and Prelacy is stil ex-
'cepted.

'Answ: by whom? ---- But if there had been an excepti-
'on against Popery put in, it would have been to little
'purpose, as long as a generall Rule is laid down that
'condemneth that exception. For if it be the standing Rule,
'That matters of Religion and faith, and all matters of
'Worship are out of the Magistrates power; to say then
'that Popery shall be excepted from Liberty, is to say the Ma-
'gistrate shall intrude into the proper Office of Christ
'to restrain the Papists.

'Well, seeing these things are so; that sin will find
'out us; let this be the use wee make of it, to be carefull
'to find out it; and to begin with that first.

'This is that which lies upon us all: But especially
'(to speake a word in Season) upon those which have the
'Government of Kingdomes and Commonwealths com-
'mitted unto them. These had need to find out sin more

'especially

a Mr. Tho.
Horton Ser:
before the
House of
Peers. Dec.
3^o. 1646.
Lond print-
ed by F.
Neile for
Sam: Gelli-
brand at the
Brazen ser-
pent in
Pauls Ch:
yard. 1646.
p. 35.

a p. 36.

‘especially, for the safety and welfare of that State, which they have the ordering and managing of.

a ‘First their own Personall Sins.

b p. 37.
 & 38.

b ‘Secondly they are to find out also the sins of the ‘*Kingdome*. I have already Administer’d some help in this ‘performance, by the hint of those Sins before mention’d; ‘all which I humbly desire may be taken into serious Con- ‘sideration, and especially (which grows so much upon us ‘and which threatens so much evil to us) the Sin of *Li- ‘bertinisme* and *Toleration*, which is the ring-leader of all ‘the rest and involves all others with it. O that this should ‘ever be once mentioned amongst us here in *England* ‘who have enjoyed so much of the Gospel of Truth as ‘wee have done; derived to us from our Godly fore-fa- ‘thers, sealed to us by the blood of the Martyrs, prosecut- ‘ed with so many Blessings, and victories, and Gracious ‘successes both of former and latter times, to the admi- ‘ration both of Enemies and Friends; is this the fruit and ‘issue of all that God hath done for us? and do all over- ‘tures of Reformation come to this? Surely God cannot ‘but take it very ill from us, that we should but incline ‘and leane hereunto; As he said to David of his building ‘of the Temple; Thou didst well that it was in thine heart ‘and accordingly was well pleased with him. So will he ‘say to us, of our Contrary carriage; That it is ill that ‘it is in our heart, if so be, it be come so far, as ‘I hope it is not. What? when we have so much appear- ‘ed against *Papery* and *Superstition*, shall wee now begin ‘to think of *Indifferency* and *Toleration*? Certainly it’s ‘but a sorry exchange of a Bad Religion for none. Al- ‘though indeed it will be no exchange, but rather a fur- ‘ther Confirmation: Toleration of all other Errours doth ‘but

'but strengthen Popery amongst the rest; *which will at least think so well of it self, as to come in for a Childs Part.*

a 'There is a Generation who look for much at your ^{a M. Lazar.} hands, and yet ask nothing, I mean by way of humble ^{Seaman} Petition. When they find you, or themselves in such a ^{Ser. before} posture, as that they cannot be denied, it may be you ^{the Comm.} may hear of them. Besides the many loose, prophane, ^{Sept. 25.} and scandalous Ministers, there are a new sort risen a- ^{1644. Lond} mongst us, who have thrust themselves into the Lords ^{E.G. for J.} Vineyard. It's no less then *Persecution* (so they com- ^{Rothwell at} monly give out) to desire that their suspicious Opinions ^{the Sun in} may be examined according to the word of God, and they ^{Pauls Chr.} commanded to forbear the publishing and spreading of ^{yard. 1644.} them for the present. There be many dangerous Books ^{p. 41.} abroad, dangerous at least, 'Ile say no more.

Liberty of Conscience.

The Bloody Tenent.

The compassionate Samaritan.

John Baptist.

b 'Consider also, c His failings and beware of them. b ^{p. 44.}
 . 1. He had many Wives, d even seaven hundred Wives, c ^{Solomons.}
 ' Princesses, and three hundred Concubines. Let not us d ^{1 Kings}
 ' have as many Religions. There's some Analogy between ^{11. 3.}
 ' the one and the other. 2. There was in his daies first a
 ' *Connivance* at Idolatry, then open *Toleration*, and with-
 ' all *Apostacy*. These Wives turned away his heart after
 ' other Gods; v. 4. He built an high place for *Chemosh* the
 ' Abomination of *Moab*, and for *Molech* the Abominati-
 G on

on of the Children of *Ammon*, and likewise did he for all his strange Wives, *v. 7, 8.* Observe the Gradation, first *Connivance*, then open *Toleration*, herewithall *Apostacy*.

a M. Matth.
Newcomen
Ser: before
the Parlia-
ment. Sept.
12. 1644.
Lond. prin-
ted for Cb:
Meredith
1644. p. 31.

a No Reformation of Religion now: now nothing will satisfy some, but a *Toleration of all Religions. and all Opinions: Church-Government, Discipline* is to some a *fi-ctio*n, to others *Tyranny*, and *Persecution*, Ah Brethren, this is a *Provocation* and will be a *Provocation*, for this God may turn us into the *Wilderness* again.

b We are grown beyond *Arminianisme, Brownisme, Anabaptisme*; we are come (I mean many among us) to down-right *Libertinisme*. There are two *Opinions*, which if encouraged (and they are encouraged if connived at) will open a door to *Turcisme, Judaisme, Atheisme, Polytheisme*, any monster of *Opinion*. The one is. That *every man is to be left to the Liberty of his own Religion*, an *Opinion* contended for by the *Bloody Tenets, John Baptist, Liberty of Conscience*, and the like *Pamphlets*. An opinion most pernicious and destructive, as to the *Souls of men*, so to the *Common-weale of the Kingdom*.

b P. 36.

c *Libertas illa quidlibet credendi* (saith Gerard) *nihil aliud quam Libertas errandi &c.* That *Liberty of believing what men will* (or of holding what Faith they please) is no other then a liberty of erring, and of erring in a matter that concerns the eternall *Salvation of the Soule*, wherein to erre cannot but be most dangerous and destructive ----- *Diversity of Religion* dis-joynts and distracts the minds of men, and is the *Seminary of perpetual hatreds, jealousies, Seditions, Warres*, if any thing in the *World be*; and in a little time, either a *Schisme* in the

' the State begets a Schisme in the Church, or a Schisme
 ' in the Church, begets a Schisme in the State. That is,
 ' either Religion and the Church is prejudic'd by Civill
 ' Contentions, or Church controversies and disputes about
 ' Opinions break out into Civill Warrs. *Men will at
 ' last take up Swords and Spears, instead of Pens, and defend
 ' by Arms, what they cannot do by arguments.* Once for all, it
 ' is the Preservation and Reformation of Religion which
 ' you have Covenanted to endeavour, and not a Liberty of
 ' Opinion, that will consist with neither. It is the Extir-
 ' pation of Heresy and Schisme that you have Covenant-
 ' ed; which if to be connived at, why doth the Apostle
 ' reprove the Corinthians for their Schisme, so much? and
 ' why doth our Lord Jesus commend the Angell of the
 ' Church of *Ephesus*, for trying those which said they were
 ' Apostles, and were not? And why is the Angell of the
 ' Church of *Thyatira* reprov'd for suffering that woman
 ' *Jezabel* who called her self a Prophetess, to teach and se-
 ' duce. *If once we come to this, that any man be suffered to
 ' teach what he pleaseth to seduce whom he list, to be of
 ' what Faith or Religion seems good in his own eyes,
 ' farewell Covenant, farewell Reformed Religion, farewell
 ' the Peace and Glory of England, if that day once come.*
 ' But you (Right Honourable) I hope better things of you
 ' though I thus speak. I hope while you live and sit in
 ' Parliament, this shall never be. It is not usuall, nay, it is
 ' not possible that they which love God sincerely, should
 ' desire to cherish differing Religions: for it is most certain
 ' he that admits contrary Religions, believes neither of
 ' them.

' 4 ' But then the question will be, Seeing there will be
 ' difference of judgment and Opinion, while we are upon

a Sermon: at
 Pauls Feb. 8.
 1646. Lond.
 printed for
 Ch: Mer-
 dith 1646.
 p. 14.

P. 14.

‘ earth, then how, or how far is this difference of judgement to be permitted ? how or wherein may Christians differ from one another in judgement, and yet ought to be Tolerated and born with ?

Ans.

‘ This is my Brethren a very grave and difficult Question; and to me, considering how many places there are wherein the Holy Ghost calls upon us to endeavour to be of one mind, of the same mind, and of the same judgement, it is easier to tell you, wherein we may not differ in judgement, and wherein differences in judgement may not be Tolerated, then to tell you wherein they may.

‘ First therefore, I say, that as an absolute unity in judgement, that we should all be of the same mind in all things, is scarce to be attained in this life, though it be to be endeavoured; so an Universall and absolute Liberty of judgement, for every man to differ when he pleaseth, and in what he pleaseth, to be of what Opinion and Faith he will, is not to be endeavoured, if it might be attain’d, nor is it to be Tolerated or permitted. I know no warrant, no pretence of warrant for it, in all the Book of God: Scripture no where saith, Let every man be of what Opinion, and of what Faith he pleaseth, let every man be left to his own judgement.

‘ Particularly, Liberty of Opinion or Judgment is not to be granted, or indulged, in such things as are injurious to God, and Destructive to the Souls of men; nor wherein the Difference of judgement and Opinion will necessarily and unavoidably, *ex natura rei*, produce a Rent and Schisme in the Church of Christ. 1 Cor. 1. 10. Now I beseech you Brethren, by the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there

‘there be no Divisions among you, but that ye be perfectly
 ‘joyned together in the same mind, and in the same judge-
 ‘ment. Rom. 10. 17. I beseech you Brethren mark them
 ‘that cause Divisions and Offences among you, contrary to the
 ‘Doctrine that you have received, and ----- what? Tol-
 ‘erate them? no, avoid them. Gal. 5. 12. I would they were
 ‘even cut off that trouble you. Nothing can be clearer then
 ‘these Scriptures are, against the Toleration of all Do-
 ‘ctrines, and particularly of those that Trouble, Rend, Di-
 ‘vide the Church.

‘a But (to speak a little to the Positive) if there be a P. 18.
 ‘Latitude, and a Liberty of judgment left, it is first in such
 ‘things as are not clearly and Positively laid down in Scrip-
 ‘ture, and therefore are not of the Fundamentalls, and
 ‘and essentalls of Faith and Worship; for there is for
 ‘these, clear and undoubted Light of Scripture.

‘Secondly, it is in things that are of private and single
 ‘practice, and not of open converse, or Church-fellowship
 ‘and Communion. And yet even in these things, this Li-
 ‘berty is not to be assumed, at least, not to be practised
 ‘without much tenderness and circumspection.

‘First, care must be had of keeping those Opinions
 ‘wherein we differ from others, private to our selves, not
 ‘troubling or perplexing the Consciences of others with
 ‘them. This is the injunction. Rom. 14. 22. Hast thou
 ‘Faith? have it to thy selfe before God. The Faith there
 ‘spoken of, is a particular perswasion, touching the free
 ‘use of all Creatures, and the Liberty of all dayes. And
 ‘this Faith, this Perswasion was according to the Truth
 ‘(as is clear by the Apostles Argumentation in that Chap-
 ‘ter) yet saith the Apostle, Hast thou Faith? have it to thy
 ‘self before God: do not say, I am fully perswaded of
 ‘my

' my Liberty, and therefore I ought to profess it, and hold
 ' it out in my practice, whatever become of others; it is
 ' the truth of God, and I must hold it forth: No saith the
 ' Apostle, have it to thy self. And if a man who hath a
 ' private opinion in *re media*, must keep it to himself,
 ' though it be a truth, much more must they whose opi-
 ' nions are false and erroneous. *Certainly there is scarce*
 ' *any difference of judgement so small, and in it self inconsiderable,*
 ' *but the divulging and Propagating of it may prove*
 ' *very dangerous and Pernitious, and in the event intol-*
 ' *erable.*

' Suppose a man should be of this Opinion, that it is
 ' unlawfull to eat things strangled, or blood: if such a man
 ' keep his opinion to himself, and make it a rule only to
 ' his own practice: let him enjoy it 'till he can be other-
 ' wise informed, and perswaded in his Conscience. But
 ' if he will now go publish this Opinion, and intangle the
 ' Consciences of others, and seek to draw disciples after
 ' him, and make a party, and cause Division and Dissenti-
 ' on amongst the People of God, this is not to be tolera-
 ' ted.

' Private Persons of a differing judgement, if they live
 ' quietly, frequent the publick Assemblies of Worship,
 ' and are not discerned to disturb the Peace either of State
 ' or Church, by any secret underminings, are to be tolle-
 ' rated, in hope of their Conversion, and for publick Peace
 ' sake. But if these men shall begin to spread their Errors
 ' in publick, to inveigle and draw others to them, to be-
 ' guile the simple, and so to trouble the publick Peace,
 ' they are to be restrained.

a P. 21.

' Had all that profess the Gospel in England, made
 ' Conscience to be of the same mind, and the same judge-
 ' ment

ment with their Brethren and the rest of the Churches
 of Christ, as far as possibly; and where they cannot,
 where there is a necessity of differing, had they made
 Conscience to keepe their differences from appearing in
 Publick, to have their private opinions and faith to
 themselves and not intangle the weake with their doubt-
 full Disputations; forbearing to judge or despise those
 that are not of their opinion, loving them still as Brethren,
 not censuring them as Profane, Antichristian, fighters
 against God, men that will willfully shut their eyes a-
 gainst the Light; had these things (I say) beene attended
 to on all hands, our breaches had never beene so great
 as now they are, nor should the lovers of truth and Peace
 have had so much cause to lament them.

a P. 40

a But where is the fault you will say? True it is there
 are divisions, sad divisions, danger threatening divisions a-
 mong us, but where is the fault? I know there are many
 that lay all the fault upon those whom they call Presby-
 terians, and say it is their rigour, and their pride and am-
 bition, their Spirit of Domination that is the cause of
 all these divisions; Thus say the *Antinomians*, and thus
 the *Separatists*, and thus the *Anabaptists*, and thus the o-
 thers say. Now the Lord judge between us and them,
 and let his people that hear judge this day.

Who are they that divide in judgement from all the
 Reformed Churches of Christ in the world, that have
 Opinions and judgements differing from the Opinions
 & judgements of all the Reformed Churches? we or the
Anabaptists? we or the *Separatists*, we or the -----? Pos-
 sibly they will all say, they are of the same Opinion with
 the Reformed Churches in fundamentalls, as well as we,
 and their differences, are but *in minutioribus*. Now sup-
 posing

' poscing this to be true (as it may be in some of them)
 ' why then do they transgresse the Apostles rule? why do
 ' they not if that it be in matters of lesser moment wherein
 ' they differ from us, why do not they keep their opinions
 ' private, and have their faith unto themselves before God?
 ' why do they upon so small differences (if the differences
 ' be so small) withdraw from Communion with us and
 ' the rest of the Churches, and gather themselves into
 ' distinct and separate Churches? ----- their holding one
 ' head & one faith, doth not excuse them from being guilty
 ' of breach of Unity and downright Schisme, so long as
 ' they hold not one body, one baptisme, *χίμα σive διακασία*
 ' *est cum aliis aliis &c.* Schisme or division (saith he) is this;
 ' When men are so addicted to some men, or to some out-
 ' ward rites, that though they do agree in the cheif points
 ' of Religion, yet they are estranged in their minds, and
 ' engage themselves into parties and factions. Now who
 ' are they that though they professe to agree with us in
 ' Doctrine have yet made a secession, withdrawne them-
 ' selves gathered Churches, engaged Parties? Consider and
 ' give sentence.
 ' Who are they that have most broken the band of
 ' Love? There is great fear what the *Presbyterians* will do if
 ' once they get power into their hands; but in the meane
 ' time what do others? who are they that brand their Bre-
 ' thren with the Title, *Proud, Time-servers, Prelatical, Ty-*
 ' *rannical, Antichristian?* And what is this lesse then
 ' *Persecution.*
 ' Who are they that haue been farthest from conde-
 ' scending to their Brethren for peace and union sake?
 ' were it fit, I could say something of this, yea much: I
 ' could tell you much hath beene yeilded and much more
 ' would

Beza annot.
 in 1 Cor. 1.
 10.

would be yeelded, yea almost any thing, but that one thing that would lay a foundation of perpetuall Division and dis-union in *Families, Church, Kingdome*? Who are they that profess an utter impossibility of reconciliation or union, and plead for nothing but *Toleration, Toleration*, and some for *Toleration* in the utmost Latitude, to *Papists, Jews, Turks*, the very artifice whereby the *Arminians* in *Holland* sought to gain a party, and strength unto themselves? Resolve these Questions, and they will resolve you who are most guilty of these Divisions.

a By a Declaration set forth above Thirty years agoe, a M. Richt King James (of Famous memory) was pleased to let the *Vines Ser.*
 World know, not only how ill he resented, and how before the
 much he detested the *Vorstian*, and *Arminian* Doctrines; Com: Mar:
 then newly born and in their swadling-cloaths; but al- 10. 1646.
 so how solicitously he interposed with the States Ge- Lond. print.
 nerall of the United Provinces, against their admittance for Abel
 of *Vorstius* into the place of *Divinity* Professor of *Leiden*, Koper. 1647
 or into their Country; And that he might decline the p. 1.
 envy of being in *alienâ Republicâ curiosus*, he bears him-
 self upon that common rule, *Paries cum Proximus ardet*,
 when a Neighbours house is on fire, it concerns all in the
 Neighbour-hood to look about them. This Vigilancy con-
 demnes our (I know not what to call it, I with no worse
 might be said then) insensibleness and security. For
 what were those sparkes at that time smoaking in a re-
 mote corner, in comparison of that fire which now flames
 forth at every corner of our house, blown up by that
anastrophe, or liberty of all Religions, which may be just-
 ly called, the Golden Calfe of these times, whereunto
 many are not unwilling to contribute their strength & Po-
 licy, and whose Birth-day, they would not fear to call fe-

' *flum Jehova*, an acceptable day unto the Lord. Are not
 ' the errors which are rise amongst us, either by infecting
 ' Persons of Place and Quality, grown into that boldnes?
 ' or by carrying away *Barnabas* also, crept into that cre-
 ' dit? or by spreading far and wide, risen to that strength?
 ' that they do face, if not seem able to put into danger of
 ' rowting, our common Faith, Publick Worship, authori-
 ' zed Ministry, long and much expected, and promised
 ' Reformation. This to the common Enemy, is the *Cape*
 ' of good hope; the sound part are afraid, least the Truth
 ' should come to beg for poor quarter, and be led Cap-
 ' tive, following the Chariot of triumphant Liberty. Some
 ' think that *Episcopacy* in his *Pontificalibus*, may by this
 ' means be retrieved, and recalled from exile, to which it
 ' was sentenced by the *Covenant*. Many that are as distant
 ' in their Opinions as the two Poles, yet moving upon
 ' one axeltree, or tyed together by the tayles of common
 ' Interest, doubt not but by laying their stocks together
 ' they shall be able to bid fair for a *Toleration*.

' And that we might not be left alone to wonder at our
 ' selves, our sympathizing Brethren abroad do wonder also,
 ' That we should be made the common Sewre to receive
 ' the Garbage of other Churches, and that their stinking
 ' snuffes should be allowed Candlesticks here in Eng-
 ' land.

a M. Simeon
 Ash Sermon
 before the
 Lords Feb.
 26. 1644.
 Lond. print-
 ed for Edw.
 Brewster

1645.p.32.

' In this sad Posture of things, all mens eyes have been
 ' upon the *Parliament*, and every one saith, *Is there no*
 ' *Balme in Gilead?* *Is there no Physitian there?* *Why then*
 ' *is not the health of the Daughter of my People recove-*
 ' *red?*

a ' Endeavour vigorously to compound our Differences
 ' in Ecclesiasticall concernments. Alas, alas, my heart
 ' akes

'akes, because of our breaches. Let mine eyes run down
'with tears night and day, and let them not cease, for the
'Virgin Daughter of my People is broken with a great
'breach, with a very grievous blow, Jer. 14. 17. What
'Factions and Fractions, what *Schismes* and Separations,
'what Rents and Divisions are in this poor, distracted,
'Distressed Church of *England*? how should either King-
'dome or Church divided stand? God forbid, but tender
'respect should be had to tender Consciences. But (Right Ho-
'nourable) I beseech you take heed, least under that pretext,
'you think of *Tolerating all Religions amongst us*. Such Liber-
'ty (I am afraid) would usher in Libertinisme, and hasten
'our desolation.

a 'It is commonly replied in Pulpits, in Presses, That a Mr. James
'a *Toleration* of all consciences, even Antichristian, would Cranford
'be a Sovereign remedy to cure all dissensions, and an ef- Serm. before
'fectuall means to compose the Wars of Christendome: the L. Mayor
'all the blood that hath for so many years been shed, is Feb. 1. 1645
'charged upon the restraint of this licentiousness, ignorantly Lond. print-
'or maliciously termed *Persecution*. ed for Char:
Greene

'I answer, it is besides my purpose to discuss this 1646. p.
'question of *Toleration*, only for the present I enquire, 11. & 12.
'First, Would these men that so hotly defend it, grant
'that *Toleration* (if they had power in their hands) to others
'which they desire for themselves? I doubt it. The *Arri-*
'*ans* did sometimes seem as earnest enemies to *Persecuti-*
'*on* as these men; yet when they had *Authority* on their side,
'they raised *Persecution* against the *Orthodox*, more terri-
'ble then the heathen Emperours against the Christians,
'which the Churches of the East most grievously b com-
'plained of.

'*Athanasius* at large describeth, and having spoken b Binii
Tom. 1 conc.
p. 686.
'much

Epist. ad
Solitar.

much of their inhumane, and more then belluine cruelty against all Sexes, all Ages, both living and dead, concludes, that he had said less then their inhumanity was, because it exceeded all expression.

a Con. lit.

Pet. l. 2. c.

82.

b Opt. cont.

Parm. l. 2. 3.

The *Donatists* did ordinarily plead for *Toleration*, and seemed the most inveterate enemies to all disturbance for *Conscience* sake; yet when under the Apostate *Julian* they had gotten power, who can declare (saith a *Austin*) what havock they made of the Orthodox? b All *Africa* was filled with blood and desolation; Men were rent, Matrons dragged, Infants slaughtred, Women with child miscarried, none were secure in their houses, the wayes were not safe for Travelers; the Letters of them that boasted to be the *Captains* of the *Saints* were terrible to all. Are our men led by another Spirit? Sure I am, that one of them, that with most earnestness, or impudence pleads for *Toleration*, was lately of another mind in the case of *Familists* and *Antinomians* in *New-England*.

c P. 13.

Secondly would such *Toleration* conduce to the establishing of Peace in the *Common-wealth*? hath it ever done it? Possible it is, that the equality of Powers may perswade each Party for a Season to suppress their inward rancour; can *Toleration* take it away, so that it shall not break out upon sensible advantages by the increase of strength? let the experience of former Ages, and present times teach this.

d De pra-

scrip. cont.

Harcl. c. 41.

Errour may Tolerate errour, *se vis inter se convenit uris*, but can darkness agree with light? or *Wolves* with *Sheep*? d *Tertullian* observes concerning *Hereticks* of old, they agreed well enough one with another; for though they differed in private opinions, yet they joyned in one, in the opposing

opposing of Truth. You *Persecute* (saith *Austin* of the *Donatists*) where you are able; where you *Persecute* not, you are not able to doe it, restrained by the fear of Laws, or envie, or the multitude making resistance.

P. 14.

I have been long upon this poynt; but I will conclude it, with that solemn Embassie, which the Orthodox Fathers, Assembled in Councell at *Sirmium*, sent to the Emperour *Constantius*. I have insisted the longer, a that a *Alban. de* it might appear to all, that the Toleration of Errour, is *syn. Arim.* not a way to Peace, as some men pretend, but to disorder and confusion: And yet I am not an enemy to Peace, *& Selenc.* but a friend to Truth, and Holiness, without which no Man shall see God.

Ministers ought now to be intent to the errors of the times, both in Doctrine and Practise, and observe what is the proper work of the day, and Preach accordingly, taking heed of being guilty of sinfull silence, whilst Christ and his truth suffers. We have too many wounds with which we have been wounded, in the house of our friends: many Ministers have and doe undoe us; some by their totall silence; others by speaking too favourably of the Sects, and too much daubing; 't's high time now to speak out, when the truth of God, the Faith once delivered to the Saints, more precious then our lives, is almost lost, three Kingdomes almost ruin'd, and all the reformed Churches in their Truth and Peace hazarded. They that can now be silent, well contented, and let the Wolves come freely and not barke, they deserve to be accounted dumb dogs. Let therefore, all Godly Orthodox Ministers, who would not have all run to ruine, stir up themselves, and lift up their voices like Trumpets, stand no longer looking on, as idle spectators, or halting between

b A serious
& passionate
Admonition
to the Clergy;
in the words of M.
Tho. à Kempis
wards in his
Gangrene:
part. 1. p. 84.
Lond. print.
for Ralph
Smith at
the Bible in
Cornehill
1646.

'between two; for he that is not now with God in his
 'cause is against him, and he that gathereth not scatter-
 'eth ---- And that Ministers in our times may be a means
 'to prevent and suppress the Errours, *Heresies* and
 '*Schismes*, they must not onely often preach against them,
 'but they should set themselves against all the ways by
 'which Errours are come in, and are farther coming up-
 'on us, and oppose them by Preaching & writing; as Lay-
 'mens Preaching, the Gathering of Churches, and above all a
 '*Toleration*, for that would be an open doore, at which all
 'kind of *Heresies* would come in, and no man could keep
 'them out: and therefore if Ministers will witnesse for
 'Truth and against Errors, they must set themselves in
 'a speciall manner against a *Toleration*, as the principall
 'inlet to all *Heresie* and Error; And if a *Toleration* be
 'granted all preaching will not keep them out: For as it
 'hath been answered the Patrons of Images, (who plead
 'let them stand, but Preach against the VVorshipping of
 'them) that if they stand, preaching will not take away
 'all the danger; tis not sufficient to keep the People from
 'all Idolatry; so say I in this case. If a *Toleration* be
 'granted, the Evill will be too hard for us, though we
 'preach never so much against them. A *Toleration* will
 'undoe all. First bring in Sceptisme in Doctrine, and
 'loosenes of Life, and afterwards all *Atheisme*.

'The Patrons of Error, because they cannot at first
 'plead for such and such Doctrines *in terminis*, and yet
 'hold them, and would have them propagated, therefore
 'they plead for a *Toleration*, which once being granted
 'they will come in then of course. O let the Ministers there-
 'fore oppose *Toleration*, (as being that by which the Di-
 'vel would at once lay a foundation for his Kingdom to all

'Gene-

Generations) witness against it in all places, possess the
 Magistrate of the Evil of it, yea, and the People too,
 shewing them how if a Toleration were granted, they
 should never have peace in their Families more, or ever
 after have command of VVives, Children, Servants, but
 they and their Posterities after them are like to live in
 discontent, and unquietnesse of mind all their dayes. -- *a* I
 might shew how the Pastors of the Reformed Churches *a p. 87.*
 (namely those who were stars of the First Magnitude)
 were against the Toleration of Anabaptists, Libertines,
 and other Sectaries in their time, and what they did and
 writ against it; as *Calvin, Zuinglius, Peter Martyr, Philip*
Melancthon, Zanchius, Beza, Knox, Bullinger, Musculus,
 ----- *b* As also how in *England* in *Queen Elizabeths* dayes,
 learned Bishops and Godly Ministers were against the *bp. 88.*
 suffering of many Religions in this Kingdome: as Bishop
Jewel, Bishop Babington, Bishop Bilson, Mr. Cartwright, &
Mr. Perkins, who in his learned workes on *Revel: 2. 20.*
 speaks thus; *Every man is not to be left to his own*
Conscience; to teach and hold what Doctrine he will,
But all such men or women as teach erroneous Doctrine,
by the Government of the Church are to be restrained.
 ----- *c* Did I say the *Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deanes, Doctors, cp. 91.*
Court-Chaplains, and Bishops-Chaplains, (for there were
 some of all these sorts oppos'd) hazard the favour of
 King, Nobles, great Courtiers, the losse of all their Pre-
 ferments, *Arch-Bishopricks, Bishopricks, Deaneries,* great
 livings to withstand a *Toleration;* And shall the Ministers
 of our times suffer a *Toleration* of all Sects to come in
 upon us, in a time when the greatest Reformation is pre-
 tended that ever was in this Kingdome, and a Parliament
 sitting, and be either wholly silent or oppose faintly; be
 afraid

' afraid of displeasing some great man, or hazarding a lit-
 ' tle estate and liberty? was the Lukewarme Angel whom
 ' God hath cast out of his Church, for not being zealous
 ' enough, yet so zealous as to hazard all against a *Tolera-*
 ' *tion of Popery?* And shall the *Presbyterians Orthodox*
 ' Godly Ministers be so cold as to let *Anabaptism,*
 ' *Brownisme, Antinomianisme, Libertinisme, Independency,*
 ' come in upon us, and keep in a whole Skin? Certain-
 ' ly the Bishops and their Chaplains shall rise up in judg-
 ' ment against the Ministry of this Generation, who ap-
 ' peared against the mind of the King, Council, and so
 ' powerfull a faction as was for Popery, and the *Toleration*
 ' of it in those dayes, if they be silent or meally mouthed,
 ' besides the shame and dishonour of it here, before the
 ' Churches abroad, and good men at home, who will lay
 ' all the blame upon the Ministers, and say, Wee may
 ' thanke them for this, for dealing no more freely, nor
 ' faithfully with the Kingdom, crying out, an unworthy A-
 ' ssembly, an unworthy Ministry in City and Country, to
 ' sit still and suffer all these Errors and poysonous Prin-
 ' ciples, in Books, Sermons to come in upon us, and to
 ' passe unquestioned.

O for a
 Burgesse,
 a Calamy,
 a Case,
 a Baxter,
 an Edwards
 &c. to write
 Preach, &c.

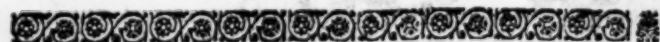
' O for some *Gabriel Powells, Dswnams, Abbotts &c.*
 ' to write, preach, remonstrate, protest against the Errors
 ' and wayes of these times. Tis want of courage and speak-
 ' ing out hath undone us; and 'tis onely boldnesse and
 ' freedome in speakeing, to declare particularly such
 ' books come forth, such Sermons preached, such practices
 ' plaid, such persons preferred and suffered, such partiality
 ' used &c. in reference to the *Se&aries*, that must reco-
 ' ver us; theres no way to put a stop to things, and save all
 ' from ruine, but present courage and Heroick resolution,
 ' and

'and lets speak out; and suffer no longer a company of giddy
 'cunning self-seeking Sectaries, to betray the Truth of God,
 'and to abuse and undoe two Kingdoms ---- Lets therefore
 'fill all Presses, cause all Pulpits to ring, and so possess Par-
 'liament, City, and whole Kingdom against the Sects,
 'and of the evill of Schisme, and a Toleration, that we may
 'no more hear of a Toleration, nor of Seperated Churches,
 'being hatefull names in the Church of God. AMEN
 'AMEN.

'a For if it be lawfull for every man to entertain and hold
 'what opinion he pleaseth, how differing soever from the
 'opinion and judgment of the rest of the Church and Peo-
 'ple of God, yet this is his opinion, and his judgement is
 'perswaded of it, and he must follow his own judgement,
 'and this liberty of judgement be (as some say) Liberty of
 'Conscience, part of the Liberty purchased by Jesus, and
 'to restrain it, or set bounds to it, is in their language Per-
 'secution, Tyranny, &c. If this were true, sure Paul did ve-
 'ry ill, to charge the Corinthians with so much authority,
 'to be of the same mind, and of the same judgment. Might not
 'some among the Corinthians have said to Paul, This is
 'hard usage, this is to rack a low man to the same length with
 'a taller, and to cut a tall man to the stature of one that is low?
 'What, the same judgement? and the same minde? will not
 'Paul allow difference of lights and sights? Might not some
 'one among the Corinthians have said, What if I am of o-
 'pinion that there is no resurrection, what hath Paul or a-
 'ny man to do with that? it is my conscience, and it is my
 'liberty, and what hath any man to do with my conscience
 'more then I with his? might nor Hymaneus have said;
 'What if it be my Opinion, that the Resurrection is past al-
 'ready, what hath Paul to do with that? Yes, saith Paul,

a An Addi-
 tionall Te-
 stimony of
 M. Nath:
 Newcomen
 Sermon at
 Pauls Feb. 8
 1645. p. 12.

' if ye persist obstinate I will Excommunicate you , I will
 ' deliver you up to Satan, that you may learn not to Blaspheme:
 ' Certainly this shelter , this Asylum of errour, falsely
 ' called *Liberty of Conscience*, was not thought of in former
 ' times.



THus far these Famous Divines, whose very words I have transcribed, and that faithfully, never adding so much as one syllable of my own, unless in the Margin, where I have sometimes taken a little Liberty.

I do much hope (upon a serious perusal) you will confess these *Testimonies* both pertinent and convincing, and therefore I might here take occasion to consult my own ease, and your patience. But because (as I have found by sad experience) *Prejudices* are strong, and evil *Habits* (which have been long in contracting) are not suddainly removed, (as an effectual means (through Gods blessing) of your farther *Conversion*) I shall intreat your perusal of these following *Authorities*.

A
LETTER

OF THE

Presbyterian Ministers in the City

OF

LONDON,

*Presented the First of Jan. 1645. to the
Reverend Assembly of*

DIVINES,

Sitting at Westminster by Authority
of Parliament

AGAINST

Toleration.



To Our Reverend, Learned, and Religious Brethren, the Prolocutor, and the rest of the Divines Assembled, and now sitting at Westminster, by Authority of Parliament: These presented.

Reverend and beloved Brethren,

WE are exceedingly apprehensive of the desirableness of our Churches Peace, and of the pleasantness of Brethrens Unity, knowing that when Peace is set upon its proper Basis, viz: Righteousness and truth, it is one of the best Possessions, both delectable and profitable: like *Armon*, ointment, and the dew of *Hermon*. It is true, by reason of different lights, and different sights among Brethren there may be dissenting in Opinion; yet, (a) *why should there be any separating from Church-Communion?* The Churches Coat may be of diverse colours, yet, why should there be any rent in it? Have we not a Touch-stone of Truth, the good word of God; and when all things are examined by that word, then that which is best may be held fast; but first they must be known, and then examined afterward. If our dissenting Brethren after so many importunate intreaties would have been persuaded (either in zeale to the truth, or in sincere love to the Churches peace, and unity

a) *What is the keeping conventicles or private meetings but separating from our Church communion.*

b) Yet the *Ministers of this persuasion made as little conscience of their Subscriptions, Promises, yea, Oaths of Canonick Obedience to their respective Diocessans.*
 c) *Shew us the example of one reformed Church which alloweth her Ministers liberty not to use her established Rites and Ceremonies.*
 d) *This is plainly our Brethrens designe and endeavour at this time.*

nity among Brethren, or in respect to their own reputation by faire and ingenious dealing, or (b) *in Conscience to their promise made with the Ministers of London now five years since,* or any such like reasonable consideration) at last to have given us a full narrative of their Opinions, and Grounds of their Separation, we are perswaded they would not have stood at such a distance from us as now they do: But they chose rather to walk by their own private lights than to unbosome themselves to us their most affectionate Brethren; and to set themselves in an untroden way of their own, rather then to wait what our Covenanted Reformation, according to the word of God, and (c) *examples of the best reformed Churches* would bring forth. But the offence doth not end here, it is much that our Brethren should separate from the Church, but that they should endeavour (d) *to get a warrant to Authorize their Separation from it, and to have Liberty (by drawing members out of it) to weaken and diminish it, till (so far as lies in them) they have brought it to nothing; this we think to be plainly unlawfull, yet this we understand is their present designe and endeavour.* Wherefore (Reverend Brethren) having had such large experience of your zeale of Gods glory, your care of his afflicted Church, your earnest endeavours to promote the compleat Reformation of it, and of your ready concurrence with us in the improvement of any means that might be found conducive to this end; we are bold to hint unto you these our ensuing Reasons against the Toleration of Independency in this Church.

1. The desires and endeavours of Independents for a Toleration, are at this time extreamly unseasonable and preproperous: for,

I. The

I. 'The Reformation of Religion is not yet perfected and settled amongst us, according to our Covenant. And why may not the Reformation be raised up at last, to such purity, and perfection, that truly tender Consciences may receive abundant satisfaction, for ought that yet appears ?

2. 'It is not yet known, what the Government of the Independents is, neither would they ever yet vouchsafe to let the World know, what they hold in that point, though some of their Party have been too forward to challenge the *London Petitioners, as led with blind Obedience, and pinning their soules upon the Priests sleeve,* for determining an establishment of the Government of Christ, before there was any Modell of it extant.

3. 'We can hardly be perswaded, that the Independents themselves (after all the stirs they have made amongst us) *(e) are as yet fully resolved about their own way, wherewith they would be concluded,* seeing they publish not their modell (though they are nimble enough in publishing other things) and they profess Reserves, and new Lights, for which they will (no doubt) expect the like Toleration, and so *in infinitum.* It were more seasonable to move for Toleration, when once they are positively determined how far they mean to goe, and where they mean to stay.

II. 'Their desires and endeavours, are unreasonable, and unequall in divers regards.

1. 'Partly because no such Toleration, hath hitherto been established (so far as we know) in any Christian State by the Civil Magistrate.

2. f 'Partly, because some of them have solemnly professed, that they cannot suffer Presbytery; and answerable here-

e) The Presbyterians

(although often pressed thereunto)

will not declare where,

with they would be all

concluded,

how far they mean to goe,

and where to stay in

their desires of Toleration,

on, and condescension.

f) It's notorious Presbytery

would not

in the late times tolerate

Episcopacy.

unto

'unto is their practise in those places where Independency pre-
'vails.

3 'And partly because (g) to grant to them; and not to
(g) To grant 'other Sectaries, who are free borne as well as they, and have
indulgence 'done as good service as they to the Publick (as they use to
unto a few, 'plead) will be counted injustice and great Partiality; but to
would offend 'grant it unto all, will scarce be clear'd from great impie-
many more 'ty.

III. 'Independency is a Schisme

Why may 1. (h) 'Independents do depart from our Churches and
not Indepen- 'so acknowledg'd by themselves.

dents, and 2. 'They draw and seduce our members from our Con-
all other Se- 'gregations.

ctaries, de. 3. (i) 'They erect separate Congregations, under a separate
fire the same 'and undiscovered Government.

favour, in (k) 'They refuse Communion with our Churches in the
case they provide. 'Sacraments.

Readers or 5. 'Their Ministers refuse to preach among us as Of-
Churches. ficers.

(h) Ye al- 6. 'Their members, if at any time they joyne with
ready do, & 'in hearing the Word and Prayer, yet they do it not: as with

(in case 'the Ministeriall Word and Prayer, nor as the Acts of Church

your Tolera- 'Communion

tion be granted) (l) Now we judge that no Schisme is to be Tolera-
will draw 'ted in the Church *^{xiij} ^{mat} I Cor: 1. 10. I Cor: 12. 25.

our members 'from our *^{di} ^{xxviii} ^{at} Rom: 6. 17. with I Cor. 3. 3. Gal: 5. 20.

Congrega- IV. (m) 'Many mischiefs will inevitably follow upon
tions, which

ye acknowledge true Churches. (i) Ye do in effect set up Separate Churches

(k) Ye receive not the Sacraments (except some few) in our Churches but at
private meetings, * Schisms. * Divisions. (l) No Schisme is to be Tolerat-

ed, as ye grant. But Presbytery is a Schisme Now, as much as Independency was
by you declared to be Then. Therefore, (according to your own grounds) it is
not to be Tolerated. (m) The same would follow if Presbytery were Tolerated.

' this Toleration, and that both to Church and Common-
' wealth.

First to the Church, as,

1. ' Causeless and unjust revolts from our Ministry, and
' Congregations.

2. ' Our Peoples minds will be troubled, and in danger to
' be subverted, as Acts 15. 24.

3. ' Bitter heart-burnings among Brethren, will be fo-
' mented and perpetuated to Posterity.

4. ' The Godly, painfull, Orthodox Ministry, will be dis-
' couraged and despised.

5. ' The life and power of Godlinesse will be eaten out by fri-
' volous disputes, and vaine janglings.

6. ' The whole course of Religion in private Families, will
' be interrupted and undermined.

7. ' Reciprocall Duties between persons of nearest and dea-
' rest Relations will be extreemly violated.

8. ' The whole work of Reformation, especially in Disci-
' pline and Government will be retarded, disturbed, and in
' danger of being utterly frustrate and void, whilest every per-
' son shall have liberty, upon every triviall discontent at Pres-
' byteriall Government and Churches, to revolt from us, and
' list themselves in separated Congregations.

9. ' All other Sects and Heresies in the Kingdome will be
' encouraged to endeavour the like Toleration.

10. All other Sects and Heresies in the Kingdome will
' safeguard and shelter themselves under the wings of Indepen-
' dency, and some of the Independents in their Books, have o-
' penly avowed, that they plead for Liberty of Conscience as well
' for others as for themselves.

11. ' And the whole Church of England, in short time will
' be swallowed up with destruction and confusion. And God is

‘not the Author of confusion but of peace. 1. Cor: 14. 33.

‘Secondly to the Commonwealth, for,

1. ‘All these mischiefs in the Church will have their proportionable influence upon the Commonwealth.

2. ‘The Kingdome will be wofully weakened by scandalls and Divisions; so that the enemies of it, both domesticall and forreign, will be encouraged to plot and practice against it.

3. It is much to be doubted, lest the power of the Magistrate, should not onely be weakened, but even utterly overthrowne, considering the Principles and practices of Independents, together with their compliance with other Sectaries, sufficiently (a) knowne to be Anti-Magistraticall.

a) And are not Presbyterian principles known to be so too.

b) And as inconsistent with other Oaths imposed by Lawfull Authority, which that was not.

a) Which Oaths have been taken by most of

the chief sticklers for Toleration, and with a True intention (it was hoped) to performe the same.

(b) V. ‘Such a Toleration is utterly repugnant and inconsistent with that solemn League and Covenant, for Reformation and defence of Religion, which not only both houses of Parliament, but also persons of all sorts in both Kingdoms of England and Scotland, have subscribed, and with hands lifted up to the most high God have sworn: (a) which Covenant likewise, both you, and we, and those that most earnestly pursue the establishment of Toleration, have made (or should have made) in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at the Great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed. For,

1. ‘This is opposite to the Reformation of Religion, accord-

ing to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches, Article 1.

2. (n) 'It is destructive to the three Kingdomes nearest conjunction and uniformity in Religion and Government, which might lead us and our posterity after us as Brethren to live in faith and Love Art. 1. n) The Toleration of Presbytery

3. (o) 'It is plainly contrary to that extirpation of Schisme is no less destructive to sound Doctrine, the conjunction and uniformity of all the three Kingdomes then Independency. and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound Doctrine, the conjunction and uniformity of all the three Kingdomes then Independency. and the Power of Godlinesse, which we have sworne sincerely, really, and constantly to endeavour without respect of persons.

4. (p) 'Hereby we shall be involved in the guilt of other mens sins, and thereby be endangered to receive of their Plagues Art. 2.

5. It seems utterly impossible (if such Toleration should be granted) that the Lord should be one, and his name one in the three Kingdomes. Art. 2. o) Seeing Presbytery is as much a Schisme

6. 'This will palpably hinder the Reformation of Religion, inevitably divide one Kingdome from another, and unhappily make factions and parties among the People contrary to this League and Covenant; of which evil offices, whosoever shall be found guilty, are reputed in the Words of the Covenant (q) Incendiaries, Malignants from Presbytery, why do they now,

instead of extirpation, desire the Toleration of it, contrary to your Covenant. (p) Toleration of Schisme rendreth Magistrates and Ministers accessory to the Errours, Sins, and Destruction of seduced and deluded People. (q) The Toleration of deformity, even in little Matters, sometimes causeth factions and parties amongst the People. Let Us have a care we be not Incendiaries, or evill Instruments for sacrilegious spirits to work by ill affected as well to Presbytery as Episcopacy

‘ Malignants and evill Instruments, to be discovered, that
 ‘ they may be brought to publick triall, and receive condigne
 ‘ punishment. *Art. 4. & 5.*

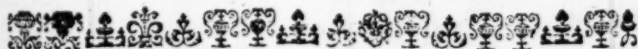
‘ These are some of the many Considerations, which
 ‘ make deep impressions upon our Spirits, against that
 ‘ great *Diana* of Independents, and all the Sectaries so
 ‘ much cryed up by them in these distracted times, *viz.*
 ‘ A Toleration, a Toleration. And however, none should
 ‘ have more rejoiced then our selves in the establishment
 ‘ of a Brotherly, Peaceable, and Christian accommoda-
 ‘ tion; yet this being utterly rejected by them, we can-
 ‘ not dissemble how upon the fore-mentioned grounds;
 ‘ we detest and abhor the much endeavoured Toleration.
 ‘ Our Bowels, our Bowels are stirred within us, and we
 ‘ could even Drowne our selves in Tears, when we call
 ‘ to mind, how long, and sharp a travell this Kingdom
 ‘ hath been in for many years together, to bring forth that
 ‘ blessed fruit of a pure and perfect Reformation; and
 ‘ now at last after all pangs, and dolours, and expecta-
 ‘ tions, this Reall and through Reformation, is in danger of
 ‘ being strangled in the Birth, by a lawless Toleration, that
 ‘ strives to be brought forth before it.

‘ Wherefore (Reverend and Beloved Brethren) we
 ‘ could not satisfy our selves, till we had made some dis-
 ‘ covery of our Thoughts unto you about this matter; not
 ‘ that we can harbour the least jealousy of your zeale, fi-
 ‘ delity, or industry in the opposing, and extirpating of
 ‘ such a root of gall and bitterness, as Toleration is and
 ‘ will be, both in present and future Ages; but that we
 ‘ may what lies in us, endeavour mutually to strengthen
 ‘ one anothers resolutions, against the present growing e-
 ‘ vills,

'vills, and that our Consciences , may not smite us ano-
 'ther day for sinfull silence, or sluggish deficiency in any
 'point of Duty, tending to the glory of Christ, Honour
 'of the Truth, Peace of the Church, Perfection of Refor-
 'mation , Performance of our Covenant , and Benefit of
 'present and succeeding Generations.

From Sion-Colledge
 Lond. Decemb.
 18. 1645.

*Subscribed by Us your Affectionate
 Brethren , and Fellow-labou-
 rers in the work of the Mini-
 stry , to whom Truth and
 Peace is very pretious.*



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The Judgement of King *J A M E S* and
His Privy - Council against

Toleration.

*Transcribed verbatim out of Judge Crooks
Reports. Term. Mich: Anno 2. Jacobi
Parag. 13. Part. 2. p. 37.*

Memorandum, that by command from the King,
'all the Justices of England, with diverse of
'the Nobility viz. The Lord Ellesmere Lord
'Chancelor, the Earle of Dorset Lord Trea-
'surer, Vicount Cranbourne Principall Secretary, the
'Earle of Nottingham Lord Admirall, the Earles of
'Northumberland, Worcester, Devon, and Northampton,
'the Lords Zouch, Burghley, and Knowles, the Chancel-
'lor of the Dutchy, the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the
'Bishop of London, Popham chief Justice, Bruce Master
'of the Rolls, Anderson, Gawdy, Walmsley, Fenner, Kings-
'mill, Warborton, Savill, Daniell, Yelverton, and Snigg,
'were assembled in the Star Chamber; where the Lord
'Chancellor, after a long Speech made by him, concern-
'ing Justices of Peace, and his Exhortation to the Justices
'of Assize; and in discourse concerning Papists and Puri-
'tans,

‘tans, Declaring how they both were disturbers of the
 ‘State, and that the King intended to suppress them, and
 ‘to have the Laws put in execution against them, Demanded of the Justices their Resolution in three things.

‘First, Whether the Deprivation of Puritan Ministers by the High Commissioners, for refusing to Con-
 ‘forme themselves to the Ceremonies appointed by
 ‘the last Canons, was Lawfull? Whereto all the Justices
 ‘answered.

‘That they had conferred thereof before, and held it to
 ‘be lawfull, Because the King hath the Supream Eccle-
 ‘siasticall Power, which he hath Delegated to the Com-
 ‘missioners, whereby they had the Power of Deprivation,
 ‘by the Canon Law of the Realm, and the Statute of 1.
 ‘Eliz. which appoints Commissioners to be made by the
 ‘Queen, doth not confer any new Power, but explain and
 ‘declare the ancient Power. And therefore they held it
 ‘clear, That the King without Parliament might make
 ‘Orders and Constitutions for the Government of the
 ‘Clergy, and might deprive them, if they obeyed not;
 ‘And so the Commissioners might deprive them. But
 ‘they could not make any Constitutions without the King,
 ‘and the divulging of such Ordinances by Proclamation is
 ‘a most gracious Admonition; And for as much as they
 ‘have refused to obey, they are lawfully deprived by the
 ‘Commissioners *ex Officio* without Libell *Et ore tenus*
 ‘*convocati*.

‘Secondly, Whether a Prohibition be grantable against
 ‘the Commissioners upon the Statute of 2.H.5. if they do
 ‘not deliver the Copy of the Libell to the Party; whereto
 ‘they all Answered, That that Statute is intended where
 ‘the Ecclesiasticall Judge proceeds, *Ex officio & ore tenus*.

‘Thirdly

' Thirdly, Whether it were an offence punishable, and
 ' what punishment they deserved, who framed Petitions,
 ' and collected a multitude of hands thereto, to prefer the
 ' King in a publick cause as the *Puritans* had done, with an
 ' Intimation to the King, That if he denied their Suite,
 ' many Thousands of the Subjects would be discontented?
 ' Where to all the Justices answered, that it was an of-
 ' fence finable at discretion, and very neer to Treason and
 ' Felony in the punishment, for they tended to the raising
 ' of Sedition, Rebellion and discontent among the People:
 ' To which Resolution all the Lords agreed and then many
 ' of the Lords declared.

' That some of the *Puritans* had raised a false Rumour
 ' of the King, how he intended to grant a *Toleration* to Pa-
 ' pists: which offence the Justices conceived to be heinous-
 ' ly finable by the Rules of the Common Law, either in the
 ' Kings Bench, or by the King and his Councill: or now
 ' since the Statute of 3. H. 7. in the Star-Chamber. And
 ' the Lords severally declared how the King was discon-
 ' tented, with the said false Rumour, and had made but
 ' the day before a Protestation unto them, That he never
 ' intended it, and that he would spend the last drop of
 ' blood in his body before he would do it; and prayed that
 ' before any of his Issue should maintain any other Religi-
 ' on then what he truly professed and maintained, that God
 ' would take them out of the World.

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VOTES &c.

O F T H E

Honourable House of

COMMONS Feb. 5. &c. 1662.

Upon Reading His Majesties Gracious
Declaration and Speech &c.

Die Mercurii 25. Feb. 15. Car. R.

Resolved &c. *Nemine contradicente;*

That the humble Thanks of this House, be returned to His Majesty, for his Resolution to Maintain the Act of Uniformity.

Resolved &c.

That it be presented to the Kings Majesty; as the Humble Advice of the House, That no Indulgence be granted to the dissenters from the Act of Uniformity.

Most Gracious Sovereigne;

THe Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses, of the Commons
house of Parliament, did with great joy receive your Maje-
sties

' most Gracious Speech, at the opening this Session of Par-
 ' liament: And being thereby invited to consider of their
 ' Declaration of the Twenty sixth of December last; they
 ' have with all Sobriety, Duty, and Affection, examined
 ' the grounds thereof, and do by me present unto your Ma-
 ' jesty their most hearty Thanks for the same, and humble
 ' Advice thereupon; both which, I do beseech your Ma-
 ' jesty, that you will vouchsafe me to deliver in their own
 ' words.

' May it please your most excellent Majesty,

' Wee your Majesties most Dutifull and Loyall Sub-
 ' jects, the Knights, Citizens and Burgessees of the House of
 ' Commons in Parliament Assembled, having with all fi-
 ' delity and obedience considered of the severall matters
 ' comprized in your Majesties late Gracious Declaration
 ' of the 26 of Decemb. last, and your most gracious Speech
 ' at the beginning of this present Session,

' Do in the first place for our selves, and in the names
 ' of all the Commons of England, render to your Sacred
 ' Majesty, the Tribute of our most hearty Thanks for that
 ' infinite Grace and Goodness, wherewith your Majesty
 ' hath been pleased to publish your Royall intentions,
 ' of adhering to your Act of Indempnity and Oblivion,
 ' by a constant and Religious observance of it. And
 ' our hearts are further enlarged in these returnes of
 ' Thanksgivings when we consider your Majesties most
 ' Princely, and Heroick Professions of relying upon the
 ' Affections of your people, and abhorring all sort of mi-
 ' litary and arbitrary Rule. But above all wee can never
 ' enough remember, to the honour of your Majesties Pi-
 ' ety, and our unspeakable Comfort, those solacme and
 ' endearing Invitations of us your Majesties Subjects

to prepare Lawes to be presented to your Majesty, against the growth and encrease of Popery; and withall to provide more Laws against Licentiousness and impiety, at the same time declaring your own Resolutions for maintaining the Act of Uniformity.

And it becomes us alwaies to acknowledge and admire your Majesties Wisdome in this your Declaration, whereby your Majesty is pleased to resolve, not only by sumptuary Laws, but by your own Royall example of frugality, to restrain that excess in mens expences, which is grown so generall, and so exorbitant; and to direct our endeavours, to find out fit, & proper Laws for advancement of Trade and Commerce.

After all this we most humbly beseech your Majesty to beleive, That it is with extream unwillingness and reluctance of heart, that we are brought to differ from any thing which your Majesty hath thought fit to propose; And though we do no way doubt, but that the unreasonable distempers of mens spirits, and the many Mutinies and Conspiracies which were carried on, during the late intervalls of Parliament, did reasonably incline your Majesty to endeavour by your declaration, to give some allay to those ill humours, till the Parliament Assembled and the hopes of indulgence, if the Parliament should consent to it, especially seeing the pretenders to this indulgence, did seem to make some titles to it, by vertue of your Majesties Declaration from *Breda*. Nevertheless, we your Majesties most Dutitull and Loyall Subjects, who are now returned, to serve in Parliament from those severall parts and places of your Kingdome, for which we are chosen, Do humbly offer to your Majesties great VVisdome, That it is in no sort advisable,
that

that there be any indulgence to such persons, who presume to dissent from the Act of Uniformity, and the Religion established.

For these Reasons,

We have considered the Nature of your Majesties Declaration from *Breda*, and are humbly of Opinion, That your Majesty ought not to be pressed with it any farther,

Because it is not a promise in it self, but only a Gracious Declaration of your Majesties Intentions, to do what in you lay, and what a Parliament should advise your Majesty to doe; and no such Advice was ever given, or thought fit to be offered; nor could it be otherwise understood, because there were Laws of Uniformity then in being, which could not be dispensed with, but by Act of Parliament.

They who do pretend a right to that supposed promise, put the Right into the hands of their Representatives, whom they chose to serve for them in this Parliament, who have passed, and your Majesty consented to the Act of Uniformity. If any shall presume to say, that a right to the benefit of this Declaration doth still remain after this Act passed,

It tends to dissolve the very Bonds of Government, and to suppose a disability in your Majesty and the Houses of Parliament to make a Law contrary to any part of your Majesties Declaration, though both Houses should advise your Majesty to it.

We have also considered the nature of the Indulgence proposed, with reference to those consequences, which must necessarily attend it.

It will establish Schisme by a Law, and make the whole

‘ whole Government of the Church precarious ; and the
 ‘ Censures of it of no moment or Consideration at all.

‘ It will no way become the Gravity or Wisdome of a
 ‘ Parliament, to passe a Law at one Session for Uniformity,
 ‘ and at the next Session (the Reasons of Uniformity con-
 ‘ tinuing still the same) to passe another Law to frustrate
 ‘ or weaken the execution of it.

‘ It will expose your Majesty to the restless importuni-
 ‘ ty of every Sect or Opinion, and of every single Person
 ‘ also, who shall presume to dissent from the Church of
 ‘ England.

‘ It will be a cause of increasing Sects and Sectaries,
 ‘ whose numbers will weaken the true Protestant Professi-
 ‘ on so far, that it will at least be difficult for it, to defend
 ‘ it self against them: And which is yet farther Considera-
 ‘ ble, those Numbers which by being troublesome to the
 ‘ Government, find they can arrive to an Indulgence, will
 ‘ as their Numbers increase, be yet more troublesome,
 ‘ that so at length they may arrive to a generall Toleration,
 ‘ which your Majesty hath declared against, and in time
 ‘ some prevalent Sect, will at last contend for an establish-
 ‘ ment, which for ought can be foreseen, may end in Po-
 ‘ pery.

‘ It is a thing altogether without precedent, and will
 ‘ take away all means of Convicting Recusants, and be in-
 ‘ consistent with the Method and proceedings of the Laws
 ‘ of England.

‘ Lastly it is humbly conceived, that the Indulgence pro-
 ‘ pos’d will be so far from tending to the peace of the
 ‘ Kingdom, that it is rather likely to occasion great di-
 ‘ turbance. And on the contrary ; That the asserting of the
 ‘ Lawes, and the Religion establish’d, according to the

‘ At

* *All of Uniformity*, is the most probable means to pro-
 * duce a settled Peace and Obedience throughout your
 * Kingdome: Because the variety of Professions in Reli-
 * gion, when openly divulged, doth directly distinguish men
 * into parties, and withall gives them opportunity to count
 * their numbers; which considering the animosities that
 * out of a Religious Pride will be kept on foot by the seve-
 * rall factions, doth tend directly and inevitably to open
 * disturbance.

Nor can your Majesty have any Security, that the Do-
 * ctrine or Worship of the severall Factions, which are all
 * governed by a severall Rule, shall be consistent with the
 * Peace of your Kingdome.

* And if any persons shall presume to disturb the peace
 * of the Kingdome, We do in all humility declare, That
 * we will for ever, and in all Occasions, be ready with our
 * utmost endeavour and Assistance, to adhere to and serve
 * Your Majesty according to our bounden Duty and
 * Allegiance.





My Brethren,

I Have now given you my Authorities, *viz.*

1. The private Testimonies of twenty eminent Divines.
2. The publick Testimony of the Presbyterian Ministers in the City of *London* (Synodically) met at *Sion* Colledge.
3. The Authority of that Wise, and Learned King *James* and his Privy Councill.
4. The Votes and Reasons of the Honourable Commons Assembled in this present Parliament.

All which I have designedly ranked in this method, that oblerving the *order* of *nature*, and beginning *ab imperfectiori*, I might gradually ascend to that which is more *perfect*; for such I think the Reasons of the *House* will be found; (to him that dares attempt them) *i. e.* Impregnable and unanswerable.

I Know not how it fares with other men, (I am no judge of their *honesty* or *Knowledge*) but I am sure, as to me the premises have appeared so con-

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siderable

siderable, I should think the world might suspect either my *Intellectualls*, or *Moralls*, were I not thus apprehensive of so convincing a Light.

My Brethren, (that I may deal freely with you) I am perfectly amaz'd, and (I had almost said) scandaliz'd; that men so eminent for *Learning*, so noted for *Piety*, and (if we may beleive themselves it being one of their grand *Topickes* for *Indulgence*) so considerable for *Policy*, I say, that these men should so warmly concerne themselves for this *Thing* call'd *Toleration*, which (as I hope the premises have evinc'd) is not onely destructive both to Church & State, but also (which prudent men would a little consider) so directly contrary to their former *Principles* & *Practices*.

I am very unwilling to make any unpleasing Reflections, but 'tis the Language of the world (and I am not yet instructed to confute it) that it is not a *Toleration*, (however pretended, as the most advantageous method, that can at present be employ'd) but a *Reformation*, (that is, (as sad experience hath explained it) a totall *Extirpation* of what ever is contrary to their humours and designs) that each different *Partie* endeavours to establish.

Now

Now that this may not be rejected as a flandering *designe*, onely to make you odious to *Authority*, (as is commonly objected) there are severall Reasons (at least strong conjectures) that seeme highly to enforce the formentioned *Charge*.

I am willing to conclude; and shall therefore give you my notions in *grosse*, leaving the *Analysis* to your acuter Judgements.

There are you know such things in the world, as a *Jus Divinum* of some one Forme of Government, and a *Solemne League and Covenant*; both which as being directly contrary to your pretended *Toleration*, (had I but the leysure or ability to improve them) might easily be resolved into Volume of Arguments.

But leaving this performance (if occasion shall require) to the management of some abler Pen, permit me very calmly to beg your *Resolution* to this following Propofall.

Were you in the same Condition, (*i. e.*) did you enjoy the same encouraging Circumstances, that your Adversaries, the true Sons of the Church of England (through Gods great mercy and the Indulgence of a gracious *Prince*) are at present favoured with; then lay your hands upon

your breasts , and tell me, as in the Presence of the great God that shall judge the world; Whether would you then indulge either Person or Parties, that should dissent from your established Discipline , be it *Presbyterian* , or *Independent*, or any other whatsoever: (e.g.) Whether would you then permit *that Minister* to preach publicly, that should *read the Service of our Church*, *wear a Surplisse*, *use the Crosse in Baptisme*, *Kneel at the Sacrament*, &c: and not onely so, but the utmost of whose endeavours should be employ'd in perswading others to the like practices, telling them that the contrary (by you observed) was irreverent and undecent, and therefore of all good Christians to be loath'd and abhorr'd, I say tell me *plainly*; Is it fit to grant a *Toleration* and *Indulgence* to such a Person or no? if not, then (even your selves being judges) neither is it fit to *Tolerate* you, since *your Principles and Practices* are as distant from *his* (I mean the true Sons of the Church of England) as his from *yours*, as destructive to his, as his to yours: and *it is unreasonable* (says the defender of the *London Ministers Letter* to the Assembly) *that Independents should desire that Toleration from Presbyters, which they would not give*

Ant. Toleration
rat. p. 16.

to *Presbyters*; so say I, it is unreasonable that *Independents*, *Presbyters*, or any other *Sect* should desire that *Toleration* from *Episcopacy*, which they would not grant to *Episcopacy*. For with what face can I desire a courtesie from him, to whom I do openly professe, I would deny the same Courtesie.

But now if you take the other member of the *Contradietion*, and say, you would tolerate the fore-mention'd Person, supposing him otherwise of a quiet, and peacable temper; let me then desire you further to resolve me. Are you perswaded, That the Church of England requires any thing Sinfull as the condition of her Communion or not? if you say, shee does not (I am no little troubled to mention it, but theres no evasion) I must plainly tell you, you are no better then downright *Schismatics*; for *Schisme* in the proper notion of it is nothing else, but a causeles Separation from that part of the visible Church of which we were members: now there is no sufficient cause for such Separation but * *Sin*; it being the judgement of our best writers upon that Controversie, that nothing else could warrant our Separation from Rome but this; that she required as Conditions of her Communion somewhat in *side* erroneous, or in *facto* impious.

But

* Unless there be something which is sinfull required as the Condition of our Communion, it appears to me to be Schisme to withdraw our selves. Def: of Profes p. 91.

But if you are perswaded (and some of you have declared it) *that she does require something which is sinfull, as the Condition of her Communion,* then the Case is cleare; the Make falls of; and I have finished my Taske; for, since all Sin is confessedly the object, not only of our hatred and *aversion*, but also of totall extirpation (it being every ones duty not only to avoid Sin himselfe, but (by all lawfull waies and methods) to hinder its Commission in others) I shall humbly leave it to his most sacred *Majestie* and the Wildome of the *Parliament* to Consider;

Whether it be either *Religion*, or *Policie* to tolerate those Persons, or Parties, which are perswaded in their Consciences, that it is a necessarie incumbent Dutie, not onely to hate and detest, but also (by all those waies and methods which they themselves shall think lawfull) to weaken, alter, & extirpate the settled Government of the *Church*; the which *Alteration*, what influence it may have upon the *State*, and how Destructive it may prove to his Majesties Crown and Kingdomes, (I hope it is no breach of the Act of Oblivion to tell you) the experience of late *years* hath suggested a very fatall conjecture.

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